loftily situated and near Rohtās. It is so old that its beginning is not known. It is regarded as the prayer-spot of Bālnāth Jogī, and is held in veneration, and visited by many people. In the extensive country of India there are various ways of obtaining deliverance (*āzādī*). One set are called Jogīs. Their tenets are according to the Pātanjal [1] Canon, of which some account has been given in the final volume.

They place [2] eternal existence in the kingdom of annihilation, and act, in many respects, contrary to customs. Many are distinguished for contentment and innocence, and, one by one, attain to enlightenment. Bālnāth was at the head of these enthusiasts. They say he was the younger brother of Rām Cand, and it is commonly said that he became an ascetic, and that he chose this place in order to mortify his passions. In short, the world's lord did not regard his own spiritual beauty, and searched for servants of God, and always offered up supplications to God with every body of men who seemed to have attained the truth, or wherever men offered up prayer. With this view he went to that retreat [3] of worshippers of God. The company of ascetics in that neighbourhood obtained enlightenment from the glory of the presence of the world's lord. On the 31st the advent of the Shāhinshāh conferred eternal bliss on the quarters of M. Yūsuf K. The famous fortress of Rohtās was in his fief. As H.M. was in the neighbourhood he begged that he would visit him. H.M. graciously consented. Presents were tendered, and eternal bliss accepted. Though it was the general opinion that H.M. should stay there some days, yet as he considered that the nearer he came
351 to Kabulistān, the better would the affair of the governor of that country be transacted, he marched on to Sind-sāgar which is known as Nīlāb.

One of the occurrences was the death of the eunuch Khwāja

Oman's recent work on the Mystics, etc., of India there is an account and a photograph of Tilla Jogī.

[1] See J. III. 177 for a long account of Patanjal's system. He wrote a commentary on Pānini.

[2] Apparently the meaning is that they place happiness in the extinction of the passions. *Nīslī* seems to correspond to Nirūddha. See J. II. 179.

[3] There is the variant Khairpūra. This was the name of a place outside Fatḥpūr Sikrī where poor Hindus were fed.

ʿĀlam. He was a hard taskmaster. Several pahlwāns (wrestlers) were under his charge. At the stage (?) of Kharbūza (?) he beat one of them with a stick, and in retaliation the latter put an end to him with a dagger. The Shāhinshāh lamented the death of that old servant, and capitally punished his murderer. The lamp of enlightenment was thus kindled for many, and a road was opened for the presumptuous and crooked in their ways.

CHAPTER LX.

Arrival of the army on the bank of the Indus.

H.M. encamped on the bank of the Indus on 13 Khurdād, and soldiers and subjects returned thanks to heaven. Every one received special favours, and the Afghan tribe, who were bewildered in the desert of ingratitude, rubbed the forehead of good service. As the object which H.M. held before himself was the amendment of M. Ḥakīm, a gracious order was issued, and that was an irradiation of right-thinking and of counsel, and graciousness. He dispatched skilful, loyal and sweetly-spoken persons in order that they might in the first place not make a parade of their own wisdom, but deliver the whole of their message (to M. Ḥakīm), and afterwards should utter good words.

Verse.

Hearts of steel can be made soft
By the strength of warm expressions.

Though the perversity of his mind was evident to the wise, yet H.M. thought that "the withholding again of our troops from pursuing him, and the various favours we have shown may induce him to accept advice, and to come to the garden of truth." But the understanding of every one whose fortune slumbers, and whose reason is flattered in the bitter-land of lust, swiftly carries him to destruction. The biography of this young man of slumbrous intellect shows this.

The gist of the message was, " Whenever a majestic prince who has abundance of power withholds his hand from chastisement and addresses himself to counselling, and the utterance of truth, and has
352 no other design than to show good will and graciousness, those who are fortunate and of happy star, but who have made a slip, come to his assembly with ashamed faces and hearts receptive of truth, and amend their conduct by submission and supplication. The wicked and evil-fated ones remain in their dark and dangerous position, and make use of subterfuges and tricks, and gloss over their evil deeds.

Now let that brother, who holds the position of a son, receive knowledge, and gather eternal bliss. Princes of illustrious houses, and the great men of every land receive radiance from our benevolence. Why shall he who is so connected with us sit in the defile of irrecognition? How long shall he do so? How long will he, in company with base people, move about in the hollow of loss? It behoves him not to give ear to the buzzings of fly-like men, but to come and do homage at our threshold so that our love for him may be impressed on all, far or near, and that he may spend the few days of life in a proper manner, and that his worldly rank and future position may be exalted, and that he may end his days with a good name. The wretched and tiny ant is not withheld by feebleness from entering on the desert of purpose; perchance it may after the manner of the fortunate arrive at the pinnacle of desire! Why should a son of man possessed of such enlightenment fall into the fool's sleep of carelessness and not make even half a step in the wide plain of search?

Verse.

There are many steps to the lofty roof,
Why are you contented with one?
If you cannot fully succeed, struggle
In the path, it will not hurt you.

If you design to be successful, what experience can be gained by testing oneself only. How long will you keep yourself on the edge of the sword? If from shame and evil behaviour you do not come to court, and out of fear do not apply your heart to service, the tale of our daily-increasing graciousness from the beginning of our reign till now—which is the vernal season of fortune—and of our bounty and our forgiveness of great criminals, is patent to all, far and near!"

Inasmuch as the distracted ones of the desert of destruction hear with difficulty the words of counsel, he, from somnolence of fortune, and unwisdom, regarded the pleasing speech of enlightenment as deception, and returned an inglorious reply. As it was the market-day of gentleness, H.M. forgave him, and intimated that if his heart and tongue were in unison in the matter of good service, but out of fancies he could not for some days appear in person, he

should send one of his sons along with the chaste Bakhtu-n-nisā [1] Begum. If from narrowness of heart and ignorance he could not
353 even do this, he should send Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī with some leading officers to execute oaths and treaties. Assuredly this would be accepted by H.M. and be a reason for forgiving and returning.

As counsel had no effect on slumbrous ears, an order was issued that Rajah Mān Singh and some brave and loyal men should cross the Indus and proceed to Peshawar, and bring to submission the refractory ones of that quarter. As H.M.'s sole desire was that the slumbrous-witted one should learn wisdom by the majesty of the imperial army, Prince Sulṭān Murād and many officers were sent off on 11 Tīr (end of June 1581) that they might cross the river and proceed slowly towards Peshawar. If the Mīrzā should waken up and take the road of obedience, they were by various favours to inspire him with hope. Otherwise they were to hasten on to Kabulistān. For greater security the troops were put into battle-array. The centre was adorned by the light of the Caliphate (Murād), M. Yūsuf K., Rai Rai Singh, Rai Durgā, Gūjar K., Sūraj Singh, Madan Cohān, S. 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, Bālkā Rai,[2] Rām Cand, Thākur Sai, Selīm K., Kākar 'Alī, Saiyid Muḥammad Maujī, Karm Ullah Kambū,[3] Prithī Rāj, Rām Dās Cohān, Mathrā Dās, Sānwal Dās, Kala Kacwāha, Askaran, Kajra, Hazāra Beg, S. Walī Jalāl, Mīr Muḥasan and a large number of brave men and cavaliers took part in this army. The left [4] wing was commanded by Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, Makhṣūṣ K., Saiyid Mahdī Qāsim, Abū-l-qāsim Tamkīn, 'Arab Saiyid Ḥusain, Ḥasan 'Alī Beg, 'Abdullah Bilūc and others. The right wing was commanded by Qulīj K., Jalāl K., S. Jamāl

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[1] Wife of Abū-l-maālī, and afterwards of K. Naqshbandī (Gulbadan's Memoirs, p. 214).

[2] Variant **Bānkā**, which seems right. See **B.** 495. He died suddenly at **Burhānpūr** in the beginning of 1601. See III. 786, 2nd last line, where he is called Akhīrāj, and the note giving Faiẓī S.'s account.

[3] This is the brother of Shahbāz K. who, according to the T.A., Elliot V. 426, forged the letters for which Shāh Manṣūr was hanged.

[4] It would seem as if here and also in the account of Shahbāz's first fight with M'aṣūm, A. F.'s copyist and others put left for right. He would surely not begin by mentioning the left wing, and the Iqbālnāma has in this place "right wing" (*baranghar*).

Bakhtiyār, Nūr Qulīj, M. Faulād, Jamāl K. Bilūc, S. Gakhar, Malik Darvesh Jānoha, ʻĀlam Noḥānī, Maulānā Ilhadād Ambaroha, Shah-bāz K. Lodī, and others.

Rajāh Mān Singh, Naurang K., Shīroyah K., Mādhū Singh, Muḥammad Beg Taklū, Mān Singh Darbārī, Jagmāl Silahdār, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Surjan, Pahlwān ʻAlī, Sakat Singh, Jagat Rai, Rām Cand, Bhagwān Dās, S. Kabīr, Jabbār Qulī, Naqīb Dīwāna and others were in the van. Out of graciousness and innate kindness again was a rescript of advice—such as might be an amulet of fortune—sent along with Ḥājī Ḥabību-l-lah Kāshī. (The letter) stated that "the time for an expedition to that province (Kabul) was passing away and that a large army would have some difficulty in the defiles. It behoved him to perform one of the ceremonies of sub- **354** mission so that the army might return from Bigrām, and that he (the Mīrzā) might have a good name and that favours might be shown him." The sole apprehension of H.M. was that the Mīrzā might be alarmed by the might of the victorious army, and resort to the desert of failure, and seek help from aliens. Inasmuch as foresight is the sun of the portico of fortune, an order was issued to the officers that they should make a bridge over the river. The able servants busied themselves in collecting boats, and the hebdomadal watchmen, and the high officers exerted themselves to construct river-stages[1] since if from ill-fortune the Mīrzā should listen to babblers, and take the road of loss to himself, and not listen to commands, it would be necessary that the august cavalcade should also go to that province.

One of the occurrences was the death of Fatḥ Dost, the son of ʻAlī Dost[2] Bārbegī. He had a disposition for service and he outwardly displayed the jewel of purity. He frequently represented to the writer that he wished to become a disciple of H.M. and asked him to represent the matter so that his wish might be fulfilled. As this reader of the lines of the forehead did not find that his heart and tongue were in accord, he used to put him off. At this time, when the standards of fortune had reached the bank of the Indus, he spoke to me about having the thing done. The far-sighted Khedive came to know of this, and made inquiries of this least of

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[1] *manāzil-i-daryā*. Pontoons?

[2] B. 403, where he is wrongly called Fatḥ Daulat. His father is referred to in B. 533.

men. I described the circumstances, and he smiled and approved From good intention I represented that as the gracious sovereign had come to know of the case, perhaps the great boon (of discipleship) might have the effect of converting him, and might lead him to bliss. He said, "Although a felicitous day (*rūzbihī*) does not shine on his forehead, yet I'll grant his request. The becoming a disciple of this supplicant to God is a test of men, and brings out their internal qualities. He administered the *shast* [1] according to holy rites, and recited with his pearl-filled tongue

"The pure shast and the pure glance err not."

He gave him weighty counsels. As he was not pure of soul, and his heart did not accord with his tongue, he in the course of two days ceased to exist.

The negligent, heavy sleepers were awakened somewhat. He had intimacy with a certain person and went to drink wine with him in a pleasure-house in the neighbourhood. Jealous and turbulent men came upon him and killed him. They said that Maṭṭalīb [2] K. was mixed up in the affair. They brought that young man out of his house, and Maṭṭalīb K. was taken to the place of examination. They deferred the investigation until the arrival of his father (i.e. 'Alī Dost Bārbegī).

355 One of the occurrences was the founding the fort of Atak [3] Benares. It was the secret design of the world-adorner that when

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[1] See B. 166 where the line is given, and where *shast* is *shaṣt*. The process of initiation is described there. The Ayin variant text I. 160 of *narasad* for *nakanad* is supported in the I.O. MSS. of the Akbarnāma. The story of Fatḥ K.'s murder is fully told in the Iqbālnāma. He had been drinking with a *cela* named Ḥasan Beg. After the murder Ḥasan was sent for and was found in Maṭṭalib's house, and hence he was suspected. Ḥasan was beaten and imprisoned, and Maṭṭalib was kept till the arrival of Fatḥ K.'s father, but the latter declined to prosecute, saying it was his son who was in fault!

[2] See Maaṣir II. 769 and B. 403. Maṭṭalīb was eventually pardoned. The young man is Ḥasan Beg, who, as the Iqbālnāma tells us, was found in Maṭṭalīb's house.

[3] Pronounced Uttak. B. tells us that the name was chosen by Akbar to rhyme with Katak (Cuttack) the other frontier town. Indeed this is what A.F. here says. Apparently Katak was then known as Katak Benares.

the army arrived at this boundary, a lofty fortress should be built. On this occasion the place which far-sighted men had chosen was approved of. On 15 Khurdād (near the end of May 1588) after the passing of two *pahars* two *gharīs* the foundation was laid by the holy hand in accordance with this name, just as in the extremity of the eastern provinces there is a fortress named Katak Benares. It was placed under the charge of Khwāja Shāmsu-d-dīn Khāfī, who had come from Bengal about this time. In a short time it was beautifully finished. There was a noble barrier[1] placed between Hindustan and Kabulistan, and it was made the material for enforcing the obedience of the turbulent of that border. The helpless obtained a means of subsistence, the seekers of traffic obtained confidence, and world-traversers had security.

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[1] *Barzakhe shigarf.*

CHAPTER LXI.

Expedition to Kabul.

When the army was encamped on the bank of the Indus, the design was to cross the river and proceed to Zābulistān. Most of the principal men in the army spoke in favour of abandoning this expedition. Some were influenced by ignorance, some by smallness of intellect, some by dread of a cold country, some by considerations of health and a love for India, some by the inconveniences of travelling. Some were influenced by good will towards the incompetent and ill-fated one, and being emboldened by the gentleness of the world's lord, they loosed the bridles of numbers of men (i.e. made them, slack). As the thread of acuteness and profundity was of double strength, the artifices of the tale-bearers were ineffectual. At this time an order was given to the writer of the noble volume to write down the views of the officers, and after having understood them, to represent them to H.M. I was astonished at their talk, but by God's help I was not deceived by it. I had not white hair and long beard, nor did an old, blue-stained cloak adorn a face of hypocrisy. When I did not accept their plausible speeches, they took to conspiring against me, but as I had the favour of the holy heart, apprehensions of this or that one did not touch the hem of my soul. The delay in the Shāhinshāh's carrying out his designs was wholly due to his hope that the Mīrzā would be aided by reason and do what was right. But he from foolishness and somnolence fell into evil thoughts, and his pride increased.

Verse.

Enemies become proud from your soft words,
'Tis a time when fair speech does harm.

356 Though this was clear to his celestial mind, and he used constantly to say with his pearl-filled tongue, "The wise have an excellent rule, and it is a proper practice that whenever owing to the constitution's deviating from equability a member of it becomes evil, it

should be removed from the body so that it may not injure the other members. So also among men, if an individual cause a defect in the substance of auspiciousness, and create disaffection in others it is assuredly proper that the record of his existence should be erased from the book of the world." But his loving heart could in no way agree to this, and he put off the crossing of the river. He feared lest by the crossing of the army things would go beyond the prospect of peace, and the life of this careless young man come to an end.[1] When graciousness had gone beyond bounds, and dissimulation had ended in imposture, the world's lord was compelled to order a crossing on 31 Tīr (about[2] 11 July 1588). He encamped at the place where the Indus and the Kabul river meet. He left the main camp with an immense quantity of baggage on the banks of the Indus, and gave the command of that spot to Qāsim K. in order that he might subdue the refractory spirits there and construct a bridge. On 8 Amardād (about 19 July 1581) Ḥājī Ḥabīb Ullah did homage and reported the Mīrzā's petition to H.M. Though he showed some shame and repentance, and confirmed his obedience by oaths, yet as he had not done what was ordered, his words did not bear the lustre of truth. Excuses are accepted when deeds accord with words. Otherwise word-spinners send the tongue in supplication and neglect performance. Many simpletons in old times have from inexperience accepted words as deeds, and have suffered heavy loss. It is proper for a peaceable being that if his deeds be not greater than his words, they be not less. Otherwise feline[3] tricks and deception are brought to the market. Accordingly the prudent sovereign did not accept the Mīrzā's apologies and issued orders that the prince should advance

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[1] In the Memorabilia at the end of the Ayīn J. II. 383 Akbar takes credit to himself for not consenting to a plot for assassinating M. Ḥakīm.

[2] About 12 July. The T.A. Elliot V. gives 15 Jamada-as-ṣānī, on 17 July 1581, as the day of crossing. Akbar arrived at the Indus in Rabī-aṣ-ṣānī, May, and stayed on the east bank for more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ months. Though he crossed in July, the main army still remained on the other side, waiting for the completion of the bridge.

[3] So in text, viz. *garbazat*, but the I.O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have *gurezat* or *karezat*, which last means dotage, and harmonizes with the next word *ablaṭarāzī*, folly. Unless a gentle, peaceable person does at least as much as he says, he brings folly to market, i.e. he plays the fool.

from Bikrām,[1] and that he himself would also proceed in that direction. On the 9th (Amardād) the standards moved forward and stopped on the bank of the Kabul river. As the sea of graciousness was commoved he sent Khwāja Muhammad[2] 'Alī and a party of men. Perhaps one of these interviews might have effect, and the Mīrzā might not fall into eternal ruin. Next day he encamped at Daulatābād. On this day he exalted M. Ghyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī of Qazwīn, who was the unique of the age for knowledge of history, and was also possessed of excellence and right-thinking, by the title of Naqib[3] K. He was presented with a splendid dress of honour, a special horse and abundant riches (*khwāsta*).[4] The idly-talking genealogists had their mouths shut, and the speakers of improper things had
357 guidance. At this stage a courier brought a petition of the Mīrzā. It expressed regret for the past and promised good service for the future. As it did not appear to be sincere, it made no impression on H.M. Inasmuch as choice meditation and the taking counsel are a praiseworthy habit of the Shāhinshāh, he directed that the great officers to the number of twenty should hold a special meeting, and should give answers in accordance with acuteness and knowledge. He also ordered the writer to ascertain the opinion of each, and to report the result to him. The order was carried out, and every one spoke as he had hitherto done. As none of them wished to march, they all spoke in favour of pardoning the Mīrzā and of returning, and they dressed up one idea in various fashions. The writer said: "When a large army under the command of such a fortunate and majestic chief has made a long journey and when the goal is not more than seven or eight marches off, and when the frequent pardoning of offences and the return of the august standards are

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[1] The proper spelling appears to be Bigrām, from the Sanscrit Vigrāma, the word meaning city. It is applied to three ancient sites near Kabul, Jalālabād and Peshawar. J. II. 371. Here it stands for Peshāwar. A. F. mentions it as a district in the Sarkār of Swāt. J. II. 391, 392, 404, 411.

[2] B. 423? If so, he came from Jām. The Iqbālnāma gives him the title of Khazāncī (Treasurer).

[3] See B. 447 and Elliot IV. 295. Naqīb means a leader and also a genealogist. Perhaps this is why A.F. speaks of the prating genealogists (*naṣbsāz*) having their mouths closed by his elevation.

[4] The Iqbālnāma says he got Rs. 1000. He is generally Mīr and not Mīrzā.

linked with one of those four[1] conditions, how can retreat be proper in the absence of these, and solely because of the utterances of obscure envoys and of writings without the lustre of truth. Moreover, it is now the rainy season in India. How will it do to remain near the Indus till it is over, and if we march back now great damage will be done in this rainy weather to the war-material and the result will not be good. It is proper to finish the work which is nearly completed, and then to punish or forgive. "Owing to a mixture of interested motives they were angry, and consulted together (lit. put their heads down) with evil intentions. A cautious[2] man said to me from ignorance, but with friendly feelings (or it may be without understanding the laws of friendship), "Though I know that the degree of your knowledge is being revealed, and that truth-speaking is being displayed, yet in the troubled state of society it is indispensable that one should act along with one's contemporaries and especially with those who are powerful in the state." I replied: "It has been reckoned as one of the worst things to conceal what is fitting for the time, in a meeting for uttering confidences, and in the pure place of counsel, and to speak contrary to one's real sentiments. Such a course is destructive of realm and religion. Why should I for the sake of security in an outward world, which is soon to be destroyed, knowingly choose what is deadly injurious spiritually? Seeing that I have not spoken foolishly for the sake of applause I am in hopes that no dust will fall upon my skirt." It was suggested that every one should lay his opinion before H.M. and that no mention should be made of me unless he inquired. With this understanding we separated. On that day[3] I had headache and fever and was unable to pay my respects (*kornish*). Some evil-disposed

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[1] I do not know what the four conditions are. It looks as if something had been omitted, but all the MSS. seem to agree. Perhaps the meaning is that before the return of the army M. Ḥakīm would have had to conform to the four degrees of faith, B. 191, by agreeing to surrender property, life, honour, and religion. It should be noted that the account of this incident in Add. 27, 247 is differently worded from the passage in text.

[2] *Salāmatravī*. In the dictionaries this is given as meaning an economist. Here it seems to mean a safe or politic person, or one who is an economist of the truth. It may however mean "an honest man."

[3] Probably this means next morning.

opportunists made a compact among themselves and resolved upon injuring me. They seduced many simple-minded and honest persons by improper language, and they represented to H.M. that all the officers were of opinion that M. Ḥakīm should be forgiven and that the army should return. The Khedive of the world asked, "What is so and so's opinion, meaning the writer of the book of fortune." One of them, who was shameless, from audacity and plausibility
358 said: "He too agrees with this opinion." The short-sighted ones from envy and selfishness (*tandārī*) took this wrong course, and were firm in their evil imaginings. H. M. was indignant and said: "Such short-sighted views do not approve themselves to me. Apparently the officers are afraid of the cold of Afghanistan (Zābul); I'll leave them all behind, and go there with my disciples (*shāgirdpesha.*)" Next day I had recovered, and without delay I went and saluted H. M. (*kornish sirbaland shud*). The marks of glory were shining on the holy forehead and there was a new splendour to the great assemblage. There was a deep deliberation and a profound inquiry. At this time the sublime sovereign called me near him, and made inquiries after my health, which were mingled with reproaches. He asked why I had changed the opinions which I always[1] used to entertain. It became clear that hostile persons and fabricators of words had played a trick and laid a plot. I fell into despondency, and came into a condition which may[2] no evil-doer fall into. The turbulence of youth, the exuberance of devotion, the intoxication of honesty, the hatred of life were aroused. Prudent counsel was nearly deserting me, and the revolutions of the spheres were almost over for this faster in Society's morning, that is, this new traveller[3]

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[1] *az khilāfrai-i-hama rūza bāz parsīd.* The expression "*ḥama rūza*" is not clear. I.O. MS. 23 has *hama rūīā*, or *rawīyat* (opinion), but the last word may also be *rūba*. Another MS. has *rūz* instead of rūza. Possibly the true reading is *rūbabāzī* "vulpine tricks." That is, Akbar asked why A.F. had been behaving in this foxy manner. *hama rūz* means all day long, but what *hama rūza* means here is not evident to me. Possibly for *rūza* روزه we should read *wazra* وزرا, and then the meaning would be, he asked about the opposition of all the ministers.

[2] *hec badkāri rā marasād.* Apparently it was too terrible to be suffered even by evil-doers. Or perhaps the meaning is that no evil-doers could experience such feelings.

[3] The I.O. MSS. have a conjunction after traveller.

in the inexperience of the disposition of the Age. By virtue of my happy star, God's help lifted me up from the pit of irreflection. Right-thinking Reason cast the shadow of benignity over me. I emerged somewhat from my sorrow of heart and I petitioned H.M., saying, "Was what they allege me to have said spoken to one person's ear, or was it uttered in that meeting?" The audacious one chose to answer, "The latter was the case." The justice-living sovereign sent for them all and questioned them. Some who were in league took, one after another, the same road of impudent assertion. The jewel of wisdom was nearly destroyed, and I was almost consigning myself to the repose of non-existence. The far-seeing prince read on the tablet of my forehead the marks of honesty, and the confusion was being diminished, but things were altered [1] by the audacity of the wicked men, and he was believing their statement to be true. In this confused and hopeless condition one of the brave and truthful men, who was not afraid [2] about himself and did not regard the numbers of adversaries, and whom I in my [3] imperfect acquaintance with him did not believe to be truthful, said, "In that meeting a certain one (i.e. A.F.) was speaking against this set of men; perhaps the conversation (they rely upon) may have taken place elsewhere." The knot on my heart was loosed. In the abundance of his capacity H.M. folded up the roll (*tūmār*) of discussion. In gratitude [4] for this great boon from God, for the medicine for the crisis is not due to any one else, and by the hair-splitting acuteness of the world's lord, the real truth became impressed on far and near—I abandoned [5]

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[1] The sentence is obscure and I am not sure of the meaning of the expression *darust guẕārī*. The Cawnpore ed. has *dast guẕārī* "assistance." Possibly the sentence means "H.M. came to rightly understand the audacity of the evil-doers."

[2] Text *balarzad*, but this is corrected in the Errata, and both the I.O. MSS. have *nalarzad*.

[3] Perhaps the meaning rather is, "From not knowing me, he did not believe me to be speaking the truth."

[4] There seems to be an anacoluthon in this sentence and it is not intelligible why everything should be referred to H. M.'s acuteness when it appears that it was the honest speaking of a stranger that saved A.F.

[5] In text there is no conjunction before mūshikāfī, and there is one in the same line before *azān khiyāl*, but both these mistakes are corrected in the Errata.

the idea of retirement and of sinking down. The rank of my service was increased. H.M. put aside the asking for advice and went on, stage by stage to Zābūlīstān. On the 14th he encamped near
359 Bigrām. He spent some time in Gorkhattrī,[1] which is a shrine of the Jogīs. There is a great cave in this place. Babblers say that no one knows how deep (long ?) it is. In the midst of it is the way to the secret chamber of the saints of old times. On account of the difficulty and darkness of the way, and its tortuousness, one cannot get there. As it was the prayer-spot of the great ones of God he entered it alone by the light of wisdom, and some of his servants, one after the other, also had this blessing. This least of men was one of them. The road was very long. It was necessary to sit down and to lie down and to trust to God. Many brave men had not the courage to do so, and turned back when half-way. After that he rested at the fort of Bigrām. This country is called Parshāwar, and the general public call also the city by this name. The governorship of it was assigned to Yār 'Alī the Nāẓir-i-Biyūtāt.

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[1] *Gorkhattrī* : in text Kūrkhattrī is in Peshawar and is now a caravanserai and also the seat of public offices. I.G. XX. 125. It was once a Buddhist monastery. Bābur twice refers to it, Erskine's translation, 157 and 264. He visited it and says: "There are nowhere else in the whole world such narrow and dark hermits' cells as at this place." The monastery of Gorkattrī is said to have been built by Kanishka. Murray's Handbook to the Panjab, p. 277. See also J. II. 404 where the translator has a long note about Kor or Gorkhatrī which, it seems, means the grain-merchants' house. This derivation seems doubtful. Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India, p. 80, says that no remains of the Stupa now exist. He does not seem to have known of the account in the A.N. I suppose it is near Gorkhathrī that the remains of Buddha have lately been found.

CHAPTER LXII.

Rapid march of H.M. to Kabul.

As the whole thought of H.M. was that the Mīrzā might recognize the truth and advance from fair speech to right actions, he was marching slowly and in every stage he halted for some time. He also issued orders to the prince not to hurry. Perhaps the Mīrzā might adopt proper views, and not endamage himself spiritually and materially. That unfortunate one, owing to the influence of apprehensions and the companionship of wicked flatterers could by no means bring himself to wait upon H.M. Though his sister wished to go to court, she could not obtain her wish. Khwāja Ḥasan perversely went off to Badakhshān. The Mīrzā sent his family to strong places, and prepared for brigandage. When he learnt that H.M. had halted near Bigrām and that the army was advancing under the command of the Prince, he, at the foolish talking of ignorant persons, prepared for battle, and exerted himself to spill his own honour. When H.M. perceived this, he joined knowledge with prudence, and resolved to proceed on rapidly. On the 15th he left Prince Sulṭan Selīm in charge of the main camp, together with S'aīd K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and many loyal servants. He issued orders that the camp should proceed on slowly, stage by stage. On that day, as it had become evening, the standards halted at Jamrūd. Next morning, at dawn, he went on rapidly. He passed through the difficult defile of the Khaibar, and rested for a while in the neighbourhood of Daka by the bank of the stream. At the end of the day, when the air was cooler he proceeded to make a night-march, and on that day halted at Lājīpūr.[1] In the morning he 360 reached Jalālābād. The landholders of that part obtained their wishes. For the repose of the troops he left Jān Darvesh K. and Shamsu-d-dīn Krorī. Next[2] day he reached Bāgh Ṣafā. The

[1] Variant Lājūpūr. It is not marked on the maps.

[2] B.M. M.S. Add. 27, 247 has on 19 Amardād—last day of Jamāda-al-

swift cavaliers of the army used to continually arrive, and give news of the evil thought of the Mīrzā, and of the activity of the imperialists (those under Murād who were in advance). But at this station no one came, and the scouts too returned, saying that the road in front was held by the Afghans. Next day the standards halted at Gandamak. At the end of the day Ḥājī Muḥammad Aḥadī, who was one of the noted brave men, and who had been sent on purpose, returned after going half-way, and from misunderstanding brought news which was far from being correct. He reported that the victorious army had met with loss. H.M. observed that the news did not appear to be true, otherwise some men of the great army would have come in. From foresight, he held a council, and asked what was proper to be done. A number agreed that he should delay until the army which was with the prince (Selīm) should come up. Some represented that if some thing untoward had happened, they were few in number, and that it was not safe to stand still, and that they should go back to the camp, and after that prepare for war. Some, who looked to the favour of God, and the daily-increasing fortune, represented that although they were few, how could they add to their numbers? H.M.'s men were all brave and experienced, and the proper thing was to go on. If by heaven's decree anything untoward had happened, the enemy would be terrified by the sound of the august retinue and would disperse. H.M. approved of this opinion, and proceeded onwards. On the way, some headmen came in, and uttered peaceable and affectionate words. The unique pearl of wisdom remarked that it was evident from their language that the report was not true, and on that day he halted at Surkhāb. From skill and foresight he drew up his troops in battle-array. H.M. was in the centre. Zain K. Kokaltāsh had command of the right wing, and Maṭṭalib K. commanded the left wing. Some Begs and Aḥadīs were in the van. At the end of the day, when the heroes were ready for battle, news of victory arrived. But as the couriers were Afghans, and the report was from Karm-
361 ullah Kambū, prudent persons did not put much faith in it. They thought it might be fabricated, as otherwise they would have had reports from the prince and the other leaders. H.M. inquired from

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akhirī (31 July 1581). Next day, which was Bahrām the 20th and = 1 Rajab, he arrived at Gandamak.

some of the zamīndārs, and it appeared from their statements that a victory had been won. He observed to judicious persons that though they (the zamīndārs) did not, out of hypocrisy and evil nature, tell the real facts yet they had left off the original story. Next day he proceeded from Surkhab to Jagdalak. Some active [1] men came and brought reports from the Prince, and gave news of victory. Men were delighted, and thanks were returned to God by the tongue of action.

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[1] A B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 says that it was Khwāja M'uīn who brought the news about the Prince.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Victory of Prince Sulṭan Murād, and the disgraceful defeat of M. Ḥakīm.

(This chapter begins with twelve lines of turgid rhetoric. It then proceeds as follows.)

The Mīrzā left the highway of obedience on account of the intrigues of wicked wretches who dig up the foundations of houses, and cast down the roof of palaces. At the time of the rebellion in the eastern provinces, he made the pleasant land of India full of
362 the dust of opposition. From the day that he returned in an ashamed condition, sometimes he blamed his star, and sometimes he became aware of his own folly ; at one time he censured his foolish companions, and blamed himself for having listened to them. In this state of bewilderment the sound of the coming of the august retinue still more disquieted him. He could not stay as he was, nor yet could he devise any plan. He had not the clearness of intellect to induce him to prostrate himself at the holy threshold, nor had his companions the sense to take his children to do homage. His sister and Khwāja Ḥasan from fear of the consequences of disobedience hastened off to Badakhshān. Farīdūn and some others, who knew that they were the staple of disaffection, were afraid to come and kiss the threshold. Sometimes he thought of fortifying the ravine of the Khaibar, and sometimes he thought he would go via Bangash and stir up trouble in India. Sometimes he thought that he should fortify the citadel of Kabul and hide himself in the hills. On account of the majesty of the imperial army he could not carry out any of these things, and the inhabitants of Kabul could not bring themselves to defend the city or to fight. How can we, they said, contend with our benefactor ? He was obliged to make over the keys of the fortress to the men of the city in order that they might deliver them to H.M. and to betake himself with some men to Qarābāgh. Every one removed his family to some distant place.

His (the Mīrzā's) sole thought was that if the army of fortune pressed upon them he would go to Tūrān. Otherwise he would stay in the hills and deserts. Whoever has not wisdom from within, nor has from without a friend to speak bitter truths, becomes stained by failure. One day he was in a state of confusion on the bank of the Ghorband river, and held a council as to what should be done. Some said that the imperial army would not come beyond Peshāwar, and that there was not unanimity in it. By thousands of futile speeches they restrained him from his intention (of flying to Tūrān, etc.) and made him eager for war. Ignorant and foolish friends did the work of wise enemies. Farīdūn was sent off with a number of companions to Āqserai [1] to collect troops, and to look after the peasantry. The Mīrzā himself followed him and sought for an engagement. As the imperial army had nearly approached, and his troops were somewhat disorganized, he resolved to remain in Sanjad-dārā until his soldiers were assembled. Farīdūn chose ambushes in order that he might, if possible, inflict some injury on the imperial army. Ḥaidar [2] 'Alī was sent off with some troops to Kabul in order that he might put that place in a condition of security and then come to the battle-field. The ruined men waited for their opportunity in Banī-Badra [3] which is between the Dūāb and Butkhāk. The imperial army had marched from Bārīkāb. That evil-disposed one (Farīdūn) had gone to Cinārtū (?) and was in a hollow.[4] When the victorious troops had passed that ambush, 363
Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhāri, Makhṣūṣ K., and a party of heroes, who were the rearguard, let fall the thread of circumspection and hastened on. No one remained behind except Saiyid Bahāū-d-dīn and a few others. On the 18th [5] Amardād (30 July 1581) the rascals fell upon the baggage and carried off some of it. At this time the brave men of the rearguard heard of this and hastened to

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[1] N. Kabul and about half-way between it and Chārīkār.

[2] B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 has Ḥaidar 'Alī Khwesh, i.e. "relation."

[3] Bīnī Padrāo in text, but the variant is supported by the Iqbāl-nāma and J. II. 406.

[4] عنجي which according to Vullers is a bad reading for غضجي a hollow place, or a marsh, i.e. a low place where water collects.

[5] Add. 27, 247 has the day of Rashn 18 Amardād = 29 Jamāla al-ākhirī (31 July). Ḥāji Muḥ. Aḥadī's account occurs *supra.*, p. 360 of text. Cf. Elliot, Hist., p. 425.

the fighting-place. The scoundrels were not successful and fled. Farīdūn took refuge at Bādāmcashma,[1] and the others went off rapidly towards Qūraqsaī and 'Ulughpūr. Apparently what the Aḥadī saw when on that day he brought unpleasing news—as has already been related--was something that he had seen of this disturbance. S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār wished to go with a body of men by way of Cinārtū to the halting place (i.e. to Khurd Kabul) and to engage the enemy if he fell in with them. On the same day the Mīrzā came to Cinārtū to find out the condition of Farīdūn. Suddenly an army appeared in the distance, and it appeared that this was a portion of the imperial troops. The Mīrzā [2] dispatched a number of daring men under the command of 'Alī Muḥammad Asp. The Shaikh (Jamāl) halted on the edge of a melon-field, a battle ensued, and while the fighting was going on, Farīdūn came up from behind. The enemy thought this was a reinforcement for the imperialists, and stopped fighting and retired. By God's help the Shaikh recognized them (Farīdūn's men) as hostile and turned his attack in that direction. A hot engagement took place, and the spectators were amazed. S. Daulat, Mathrā Dās and a number of brave men distinguished themselves. On the side of the enemy Bakht Beg, Ghaiūr Beg, Shādmān Parghalīq, Mullā Ghaiūrī fought gallantly.[3] The imperial servants fought their way to Khurd Kabul, where the prince's camp was. Also on this day Shagūna Qarāwal (scout), who had gone to make inquiries, offered up his life. Aḥmad Beg, Bakht Beg, Zāhid and others, who had returned from plundering, came upon him, and he died like a brave man. Those who imagined a vain thing had their pride increased by this circumstance. Also Mīr 'Abdullah [4] played away the coin of courage (i.e. behaved in a

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[1] Between Little Kabul and Bārīkāb. J. II. 399.

[2] The troops which the Mīrzā saw in the distance were S. Jamāl's. The text omits the word Mīrzā as also does the Cawnpore ed., but the two I.O. MSS. have it.

[3] The Iqbālnāma says that Muḥammad Sharīf, a young man who was related to the Mīr Khalīfa, was unhorsed and made prisoner by the Afghans.

[4] Apparently the correct reading is 'Abād Ullah as in the variant. One MS. has "in this year and month." Add. 27, 247 has 'Abdullah, and adds that he was the brother of Ḥājī Ḥabībullāh. It is interesting to notice that 'Abd Ullah was the name of the ambassador whom

cowardly manner) in this year. A large sum of money had been sent with him for the troops. Sher Khwāja, Lāl Beg and a number of others met him, and from cowardice he was caught, and the money was plundered.

Ḥakīm M. came with a number of rebels to a height near the camp of fortune, but though the plundering and fighting encouraged the evil crew, yet he could not bring his heart to engage in a battle 364
by day. For a night and a day there was no engagement. Apparently they were collecting troops. Out of cheatery he sent some letters by the hand of a doomed man to Qulīj K., M. Yūsuf K., Naurang K., ʻAlī Murād and some of the Caghatāī tribe. They contained proposals for acting in concert. M. Yūsuf K. in the excess of his anger tore up those letters in the assembly and put the bearer, ʻAlī Murād, to death. It is an old custom [1] that tricksters send such letters at such times so that they may pervert people. Men of small capacity have injured the lives of devoted servants, and have believed in their disloyalty. Far-seeing persons of profound views have relied upon their fidelity and increased their favours to them. Those who favour the enemy do not know that the imperial servants have learnt wisdom at the threshold of fortune, and that the dust of double-heartedness is not raised by such evil schemes.

In fine the Kābulīs were dumbfounded by the might of the victorious troops. They abandoned good courses and sometimes turned their thoughts to the making of a night-attack. Some thought of a battle by day. On the eve of the 20th they kindled fires on the top of the hill, and proceeded to acts of turbulence. Evil thoughts took possession of them. They sent off on the right hand, Qazzāq, Amīr K. Islām-abādī, Afẓal Tūlakcī, and a number more; and on the left hand they sent Nūr Muḥammad Khwāja Khiẓrī, and a number of Hazāra infantry, in the hopes that they might cause

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Akbar sent to Goa in December, 1578, to procure the attendance of priests.

[1] Apparently A.F. is thinking of the time when Shāh Manṣūr was destroyed by the forgery of letters addressed to him. Considering the way that Akbar accepted letters written to Manṣūr is proof against him, it was but natural that M. Yūsuf should tear up the letters from M. Ḥakīm and kill the messenger.

confusion in that dark night. The majestic dominion which is conjoined with eternity drew courage from seeing them. The heroes of the victorious army stood their ground and sought for battle. They regarded not these wiles and threatenings (*gāo-tāzī*). On 20 Amardād corresponding to Wednesday 1 Rajab, 1 August 1581, the Mīrzā came out from the defiles and dressed the field of battle. The strenuous combatants of fortune set themselves with a bold heart and tranquil view to giving their lives.

Verse.

From the blare of the trumpets
Trembling fell on hand and foot.
The heat of combat waxed so hot
That sparks came from the horses' hoofs.
From the roarings of *mast* elephants
Knots formed [1] in the throats of lions.

By the celestial aids which are always allied to the servants of daily-increasing fortune, the time of fighting had not yet reached the whole of the vanguard, so that there is no need to mention the other corps. The Mīrzā lost heart and took to flight. The imperial
365 servants rejoiced. Next morning Farīdūn with a body of men did not take account of what had happened, and stirred up the dust of battle. Of the officers of the vanguard, Naurang K. had come near the mouth of the ravine. The Kābulis attacked him, and gained some advantage. The victorious army was some distance behind. Nūram Beg and Tarsūn Beg Andījānī fell bravely. The Mīrzā plucked up a little spirit and came out of the ravine to the plain. The brave men of the vanguard, such as Shah Beg Kūlābī, Rafī' Rustāqī, and Fatḥ Mubārik brought the jewel of courage to market, and then with the brightened face of a good name packed up the baggage of existence (died).

Verse.

Two rivers of blood came into commotion,
The ground grew tulip-coloured from the fiery waves.

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[1] The variant *shikast* "broke" is supported by the I.O. MSS. Apparently the meaning is that the lions, i.e. the heroes, became speechless.

They came face to face for battle,
Woes and calamities fell upon the heroes.
What can I say of that engagement
When I cannot tell one jot of it.

While the battle-field was adorned by the flashings of the scimitars, the Zabuliyāns were nearly getting the best of it. At this time Rajah Mān Singh came forward with a rush. First, Mādhū Singh, Ṣūrat Singh and a number of brave men formed platoons (*tōp tōp*) and went into battle. They sent ahead the rank-breaking elephants. Ibrāhīm K. Faujdār was on the special elephant Ran Mohan, and Jajhār K. on the special elephant Jagat Rai. Muḥammad K. was on the special elephants Gaj Mangal (the elephant of Mars) and Cānd K. on Lakhmī Sundar. Though this last was not a special one, it showed its quality this day and was placed in the special Fīlkhāna (elephant-stables). Ḥusain K. was on the special elephant Mukut. The life-destroying guns which were on the elephants were discharged. When the vanguard, which was like so many iron walls, came into action, the Kābulīs lost courage. 'Alī Muḥammad Asp and some well-wishers seized the Mīrzā's rein and took him to the desert of retreat. The breeze of victory blew on the rosebush of the hopes of the strenuous fighters. A watch and something more of the day had elapsed when the rays of fortune took possession of the earth. The fortunate prince, in spite of his youth, showed such courage and steadfastness that veterans remembered his firmness and his exertions. Many were of opinion that the Mīrzā would attack the army in the rear, and kept the other troops ready for 366
this contingency. For good reasons they did not pursue the foe. A great victory was gained. Many soldiers were killed in their flight. The ingrates and foolish talkers met with their deserts, and fell into the wide tract of ashamedness. The boasters and the impudent continually said to one another, "The Tūrānīs and Persians who are in the imperial army will join us without fighting, and the brave Rajputs and gallant Afghans[1] will end their days. The other

[1] The use of the word Afghan here, as if they were on the side of Akbar, is curious. Perhaps it means that the fight would only be between the Afghans and Rājputs. B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 is worded differently. It says that Ḥakīm's people told him that the Qandahāris would come over to his side.

natives of India will be made prisoners." By these fictions they increased the Mīrzā's hallucinations. No! No! Though that inexperienced youth knew nothing of the spiritual world, yet his amount of external knowledge was not such (i.e. little) that he should be led away by this incorrect language. Nor had the foolish and confused such a stock of infatuation as to suppose such things of the fidelity of the Tūrānians and Persians, which is known to the whole world. Nor were the great deeds of the Rājputs and the Shaikh-zādas of India unknown to them. Evidently they thought that by this prattling they would increase the courage of the Zābulis and would inspire terror into the victorious army.

On the day that Mīrzā was leaving Bigrām one of the bare-footed men of enlightenment (i.e. a religious mendicant) told him that a battle with the victorious army would not be propitious to him. It would be best for him to draw rein and leave of this enterprise. From presumption and self-will he did not listen to him. The Mīrzā now had his time of attacking and being defeated. Several of his intimates were reduced to ashes by the fire of the guns. Qāsim Khwāja after experiencing the might of the victorious army represented to the Mīrzā the turning back of his men, and seizing his rein, wished to lead him away. The Mīrzā, because he was a little confused, did not hearken to him and abused him. Meanwhile 'Alī Muḥammad Asp came up to help him. The Mīrzā became angry and threatened to kill him. That excellent man (lit. full of auspiciousness) said, "First send me to the abode of non-existence, and then fly." By this devotion and right-thinking, the Mīrzā understood his object, and went off rapidly. In the neighbourhood of Kotal Minār some victorious soldiers arrived, and the Mīrzā with great difficulty extricated himself. That day he rested at Qarā Bāgh, and then went on to Istarghach (N. Kabul). Many of his near relatives, and among them his eldest son Kaiqobād, joined him there. From thence he went off to Ghorband.

The fortunate prince went on the 21st (3 August) to the *jalgah* of Sīāh Sang, and held an assembly. All sorts of men beheld the
367 light of true rule, and rejoiced, and that ancient place, which is a delightsome spot, was refreshed by the irrigation of justice. At the time[1] when the standards of fortune were moving from Surkhāb to

[1] A.F. here repeats what he had said at p. 361, end of previous chapter.

Jagdalak, swift messengers brought the news of victory, and the marvels of heaven-aided fortune were impressed anew on high and low. Supplications and thanksgivings were offered up anew. Next day he encamped at Bārīkāb, and on 25th he halted at Butkhāk. The soldiers and the peasantry, male and female, of Zabulistan, flocked in from every side, and became the recipients of various favours. At this stage Kuar Mān Singh and many other officers did homage, and were exalted by the favour of the Shāhinshāh. Next morning he marched. On the way the prince and other high officers paid their respects. He halted at Sīāh Sang, which is known by men as Safed Sang, and there Turk and Tājīk performed the *kornish*. He observed the precepts of the astrologers and halted there for some days. Then he went and visited the Shahrārā-garden [1] (Pride of the city) and other recreative spots in that blissful city. He remembered the places which he had seen in boyhood and described them by special marks, and when these were inquired into, his descriptions were found to be exactly correct. Fresh proof was given of his intelligence and memory. About this time Lashkar [2] K. of Baqlāna, who was famous for turbulence, was brought in chains by the husbandmen of that country, and was put to death in retribution for his crimes. As H.M.'s intention was to spend some time in this country, which is a garden, and a heart-delighting spot, in worshipping God, and in administering balm to the wounds of the inhabitants, he sent off his elephants to Jalālābād under the charge of Sayid Ḥāmid, Sayid Bahāū-d-dīn and others. At this time news came that the Mīrzā was bewildered and almost mad. On hearing the reverberation of the royal cavalcade he had gone off to Ghorband, and his idea was that if an army should come to look for him he would become like a Qalandar and go off to retirement in Tūrān. Out of abundant graciousness H.M. sent Laṭīf Khwāja and Qāẓī 'Abdu-l-laṭīf to him with salutary counsels. His whole design was that he should be convinced of the royal clemency and come to court. In an auspicious hour, on the

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[1] J. II. 404.

[2] This man does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere, and I do not know if Baqlāna here mentioned is the Baglān in Nāsik described in an earlier page. But probably he was an Afghan. The Iqbālnāma seems to have Naghlānī (a strifemonger?).

29th (9 August 1581)[1] H.M. seated himself in the citadel of Kabul. Splendour took possession of that country, and a court was held
368 there and a great feast. Also during this year the weighment (of Akbar[2]) took place, and was made against choice articles. Mankind were filled with joy by the royal bounties.

[1] The T.A. Elliot, V. 425 says Akbar entered Kabul on Friday, 10 Rajab, and remained there for 20 days. If 10 Rajab is correct, then Akbar entered on 10 August 1581. Add, 27, 247 says he entered Kabul on the day of Isfandārmuz, 29 Amardād = Friday, 10 Rajab.

[2] This is the weighment which apparently took place a few days after the day of Akbar's birth according to the Hijra era; that took place on 5 Rajab 949, and Akbar entered the city of Kabul on 10 Rajab.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Forgiveness of the offences of M. Ḥakīm, and return of the army to India.

(The chapter begins with eleven lines of laudation of Akbar for his forgiving nature. It then proceeds as follows.)

It many times occured to some loyal and devoted ones that some servant should form an ambush and put the Mīrzā out of the way. From feelings of true affection he did not approve of this, in spite of the increase of his turbulence. With his pearl-loaded tongue he said, "Why should the sons of men employ their God-given strength in accomplishing the desires of the juggling sensual soul? And why should I for the sake of my own repose endeavour to take the life of a brother? or ungratefully allow a devoted follower to be slain? If he (the Mīrzā) is going the wrong road, thinking it is right, he is doing a religious act, otherwise, he is suffering from the malady of ignorance. We ought not to trouble those who are suffering pains in the desert of unwisdom." At the time that the august retinue was in the pleasant place of Kabul, the Mīrzā's roll of life was nearly being folded up.[1] In that dangerous state the envoys of the Caliphate brought the good news of forgiveness, and showed to that distracted and hopeless one the succour of daily-increasing favour. The Mīrzā for a time thought it was a dream, and thinking that reproaches were intended did not believe the news. When he knew the truth, and saw that the court of acceptance of apologies was open he fell into weeping and lamentation, 369
and told the story of his own want of wisdom, of his misfortunes, the infidelity of companions, and said in reply, "I ought to have rubbed my forehead on the holy threshold before this,

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[1] Apparently this refers to some illness of the Mīrzā. Akbar refers to the proposal to kill Muḥammad Ḥakīm in the conversations reported in the Ain. See Jarrett III. 383.

and to have made its dust the collyrium of my eyes and heart. Now that I have fallen upon this day, and the horror of my soul has increased, how can I have the heart or assurance to present myself before H.M. and what would such a coming evince, and what petition should I make? Owing to my misfortune I cannot bring my sister and Khwāja Ḥasan to make apologies for they have out of fear, and on seeing my evil day, gone to Badakhshān. But I have been comforted by the inspiriting message. I am hopeful that on this occasion I shall be excused from coming to pay my respects. I am sending my son to do homage. When my mind has become a little eased, I shall gather eternal fortune by the bliss of the *kornish*." To this effect did he send a petition along with 'Alī Muḥammad Asp.

On 1 Shahrīyūr Laṭīf Khwāja[1] and Qāẓī 'Abdu-l-laṭīf came to H.M. and reported the confused condition of the Mīrzā. H.M. was displeased, and he issued an order that some strenuous men should go, and bring that slumbrous-witted one to the path of good service. At this time, 'Alī Muḥammad Asp obtained, through the courtiers, the privilege of an audience. As he was one of the old servants of the sublime family, his supplications were accepted. The offences of the Mīrzā were forgiven, and Zābulistān was conferred upon him anew. And as the presence of the royal standards was a cause of confusion to the Mīrzā, H.M. proceeded next day towards India. He went in the first place to the cemetery[2] and the holy tomb of H.M. Firdūs Makānī (Bābur), and said his prayers. After that he enjoyed himself in the Shahr-ārā garden. At the end of the day he ordered the high officers in attendance on Prince Sulṭān Murād to proceed stage by stage, and he himself went on by relays to Jalālābād where the great camp was. Makhṣūṣ K., S. Jamāl, and the writer of this noble volume and some others had the privilege of accompanying him. At the beginning of the night he rested for a while near Bigrām (the one near Kabul). When a watch of the

[1] B. 196.

[2] Gazargāh "A ferry or passage." But used here, I think, to mean a place of passing away, i.e. a cemetery. Or perhaps it is another form of gāzur gāh, i.e. a bleaching ground, but which, according to Major Raverty, means a graveyard, as being a place where bones are bleached.

night had passed, he went on again and at midday rested at Bārīkāb. He went on on horseback again at lighting-up time, and next day at midday reached Jalālābād. The prince (Selīm) placed his head on the blessed feet and paid his respects, and the chaste ladies were filled with joy. The officers prostrated themselves and offered up thanksgiving. Babblers had told various lies about the Mīrzā. And there was a report that the standards of victory were going towards Tūrān. The officers had been somewhat apprehensive of the strange country, and of ambushes on the part of the 370
Kābulīs, when all at once the cavalier of enlightenment's plain (Akbar) arrived. There was great rejoicing in the camp. On the 7th (Shahrīyūr) he proceeded towards India, and encamped on the river-bank. H.M. and some of the ladies visited the Bāgh Ṣafā and at night came to the camp. Next day the prince(Murād) and the officers came up from behind. At this stage S. Farīd came from Bihar and did homage. He reported the failure of the enemy and the freedom of the province from rebels. On the 15th he passed through the Khaibar and halted at Jamrūd.

One of the occurrences was the pardoning of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, From the time that he had been disgraced in the engagement with Shahbāz K., and had escaped from the hands of the landholders as has already been described, he was wandering about in the jungles. Every day he tore the foot of exertion in the thornbrake, and by fresh griefs heaped up the punishment of his wickedness. In this state of misfortune and bewilderment he was joined by one of his servants named Maqṣūd who poured out to him his accumulations. Rebellious thoughts again made that evil-conditioned man mad. He increased his turbulence, and distressed the peasantry. In a short time a number of fly-like men who were slaves of gold assembled, and the city of Bahraich was plundered. Fakhr 'Alī (son of ?) Wazīr K. made a small fight and owing to his evil star, and the bad conduct of his companions, was unsuccessful. The city and its suburbs came into the possession of that evil doer. Wazīr K., Mihtar K., and the other fief-holders united together and by the might of daily-increasing fortune came to a fight with him. The battle began with the discharge of cannon and muskets with the river Sarū intervening. The rebel from fear of the new arrivals remained that day in camp and at night went off with a few compa-

nions. Soon the landholders took the side of the chosen servants, and their might increased. At night he left family and home and fled. The victorious troops pursued him to Kalyānpūr and then returned. M'aṣūm went off to Jālupāra, and stirred up strife there also. Many fly-like creatures joined him and the town of Muḥammadābād was plundered. There were fears that Jaunpūr would be sacked. Shāham K. came from Tirhut, Pahār K. from Ghāzīpūr,
371 and Qāsim K. from Cāndpūr to remedy matters. They were active, and that crooked one became distracted. His men dispersed and he abandoned his plunder and crossed the Sarū with a few men at the ferry of Haldī. When the victorious troops were chanting pæans on every side he dropped his strife-mongering somewhat, and proceeded to subterfuges. The Khān 'Āẓim M. Koka was in Ḥājīpūr. He sent him a letter of supplication and begged his pardon. The Khān 'Āẓim remembered old acquaintance and behaved with humanity. He helped him with money, goods and an estate. He also begged H.M. to forgive him. The forgiving sovereign in his acceptance of excuses and love made the Kokaltāsh hopeful of such a favour, and the world became like a blooming garden.

Verse.[1]

The penitent even in dreams won't listen to the word "Repentance,"
If he see the loving wiles of His forgiveness of sins.

One of the occurrences was the death of Saiyid Hāshim Bokhārī. In the beginning of this expedition the Mīr had been sent off to the government of Sirohī. Mīr Kalān, Kamālū-d-dīn Ḥusain Diwāna and some other strenuous ones accompanied him. When he had

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[1] I am indebted to Maulavī 'Abdul Ḥaq for the explanation of this verse. It means that as sinners knew how eager Akbar was to forgive them, they would not, even in dreams, think of repenting. They would rather go on sinning in order to receive more forgiveness. The Maulavī quotes parallel passages from Niẓāmī's Sikandarnāma and from the poet Qudsī. The latter says that on the day of judgment God will be there with the coin of forgiveness, while he (Qudsī) will have the goods of his sins under his arm. That is, he will keep them hidden till a good price be offered for them by God.

taken up his quarters there, Sulṭān Deora,[1] a great landholder in that place, pretended to be obedient, and made the semblance of friendship; by plausible words he won over some wicked Rajputs to his side and lay in wait for an opportunity to do deadly mischief. At a time when the loyal were far off and the rebellious at hand, he attacked the negligent Saiyid. On 2 Amardād he and some others bravely fell, and played away in a proper manner the coin of life. A few who behaved in that battle in a cowardly manner were punished (by Akbar) and that crooked one received a severe chastisement.

On 16 Shahriyūr H.M. halted near Bigrām. News came that Qāsim K. had made an excellent bridge over the great and turbulent river Indus. Crowds of men crossed over and rejoiced.

One of the occurrences was S. Jamāl[2] Bakhtiyār's being seized with melancholy. When H.M. was emerging from the defile of the Khaibar he perceived that he had been drinking. He denied somewhat, and then made proper excuses. H.M. rebuked him and did not allow him to perform the *kornish*. From excess of madness he became light-headed and destroyed his property and became a beggar. H.M. from kindness and in order to teach him put him into confinement. S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm[3] of Lucknow and some others of his boon-companions were rebuked and excluded from Court.

On the 22nd H.M. crossed the Indus by the bridge, and glorified the land of India by his world-adorning footsteps. The guar- **372**
dianship of the Indus province was entrusted to the activity of Kuar Mān Singh. H.M. had some *qamargha* hunting in that neighbourhood, and enjoyed himself. Also at this time Rajah Todar Mal came and did homage. He had been with the army, and engaged in administering the eastern provinces. As much work did not remain to be done in Bihar, and the officers had not the privilege of going to Bengal, he had been sent for to take charge of the viziership. Fresh life was given to him, and he entered into service. He took office in the beginning of Mihr. In this month H.M. left the banks of the Indus, and went hunting. On 20 Mihr he crossed the Bihat at Rasūlpūr by a bridge, and on the 25th he crossed by a

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[1] According to B. the name is Sultān Deodah.

[2] B. 425.

[3] B. 470 and M'aāṣir, II. 564.

bridge the Cenāb in the neighbourhood of Hailān[1] at the ferry of Jugālī. On 5 Ābān he crossed the Rāvī, which was fordable, and encamped near the Serai of Daulat K. On this day he appointed Ṣadrs,[2] and the garden of the hopes of the unsuccessful was irrigated. H.M. had regard to the number of tenure-holders (sayūrghaldārān) and to their convenience, and abolished the single office, and distributed the work among a number of honest and experienced men, so that applicants might not have the pain of delay, and also that there might not be room for fraud. The Ṣadārat of the provinces of Delhi, Malwa and Gujrat was made over to Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ, that of Agra, Kālpī, and Kālinjar to S. Abu-l-faiẓ faiẓī, that from Ḥājīpūr to the Sarū to Ḥakīm Ḥamām, that of Bihar to Ḥakīm ʻAlī, that of Bengal to Ḥakīm ʻAīn-al-mulk, that of the Panjab to Qāẓī ʻAlī-Bakhshī.[3] Also, here and there, in large cities, he appointed an able and unbigoted man to be head of the Qāẓīs of that quarter, so that he might look after that crew of large-turbaned and long-sleeved men. Also at this time Rajah Bhagwān Dās, the commander-in-chief of the Panjab, petitioned for a visit from the world's lord, and his request was granted. On the 8th H.M. cast the shadow of his favour over him, and he obtained everlasting happiness. On the 21st he crossed the Beās (Hyphasis) by a bridge and on the 28th the Suṭlej, also by a bridge. Next day he halted at Sirhind, and enjoyed the gardens thereof. At this stage, Rajah Bhagwān Dās, Rai Rai Singh, Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, Jagannāth, and other fief-holders of the Panjab were allowed to depart. At Pānīpat on 7 Āẕar Shahbāz K. was exalted by doing homage. From the time when he had driven off M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī to the wilds, he had been in Fatḥpūr in charge of the orders of the Caliphate. When he heard of the return of H.M. he came away, and obtained

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1 S. Chiliānwāla. See B. 457 n. 1, and 360.

2 B. 268, 270 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 304.

3 The text has Badakhshī, but the variant Bakhshī is supported by the I.O. MSS. Qāẓī ʻAlī was a Bakhshī, but he is described as of Bagdad, not of Badakhshān. See also Tūzuk J., p. 50, where it is mentioned that Aṣaf K. was made Mīr Bakhshī at Basāwal 28 years before 1016. This should be 989, not 988. The M'aāsir U. states that Aṣaf K. was made Bakhshī in the room of Qāẓī ʻAlī. The latter probably vacated the appointment on being appointed to the Panjab.

bliss. On the 10th[1] H.M. reached Delhi. He visited the tomb of H.M. Jannat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn), and distributed bounties to the guardians thereof. He also visited the abode of Ḥājī Begam (his stepmother) and paid his devotions. There was a joyful meeting, and desires were accomplished. At the end of the day he was informed that the litter of H.H. Miriam-makānī was near at hand. The world's lord treated her with great respect. Prince Sulṭan Daniel was in attendance on her and now did homage (to Akbar). Sultan Khwāja, Shāh Qūlī K. Maḥram, and many other loyal servants did homage. On the 17th he encamped near Mathura, and he went to that ancient place of pilgrimage and witnessed the spectacle of the benighted ones (lit. the slumbrous ones of the land of recognition). For a short time he at the request of Mathura Dās, who was one of the chosen servants, glorified his house by his advent. 373

[1] The T.A., Elliot V. 426, states that Akbar reached Lahore on the last day of the Ramẓān (October 28, 1581) and that he reached Delhi on 25 Shawāl (22 November). Badayūnī gives the date of arrival at the Indus as 12 Sh'abān (11 September).

CHAPTER LXV.

Arrival of the royal retinue at Fatḥpūr.

The just lord of the world by wisdom and foresight, and the guidance of daily-increasing fortune, led the great army of India to Zābulistān, and by skill and planning brought the work to a successful end. The dignity of counsel-giving was exalted, and a new jewel of humanity was displayed. Prudence and courage went shoulder to shoulder, and graciousness and magnanimity embraced each other. By wisdom he laid the foundations of war, and led a world into an open plain. He disregarded self, and showed the path of courage to a crooked foe. The retribution of the wicked was accomplished in an exquisite manner. A great expedition, such as had not occurred to the minds of the rulers of India, was effected in an admirable way. The jewels of endurance, wide capacity and knowledge of mysteries, were displayed to the four quarters of an astonished world. Though the rebels of the eastern provinces went the roadless way, and the officers requested that he would make an expedition in that direction, he took up the rebellion in the Panjab, and did not grant their prayer. Such calm and endurance were exhibited as to be extolled everywhere, and a splendid remedy was applied to the distractions of mankind. Appreciation and arrangement received fresh splendour, and he was made glorious by not permitting the chastisement of his ungrateful brother whom he looked upon as an elder child. By not leaving administration to the officers he strengthened the cords of discrimination. In spite of so many offences he granted to the Mīrzā his country, his property, his life and his honour. He fulfilled the obligations of battle and
374 banquet, rewarded the loyal servants, and punished the wicked. On 19 Āẕar,[1] after ten months, he glorified the capital by his advent.

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[1] 5 Ẕilq'ada 989—1 December 1581. Elliot V. 426.

Verse.

A breeze of joy comes from Fatḥpūr,
For my King returns from a long journey.
What bliss is his advent, for from every heart
Thousands of rejoicings come forth.
O Faiẓī, glorious be his arrival to a world.
For a world comes into his presence.

On this day of joy the great officers, the loyal servants, and others were drawn up in two sides of the way for a distance of four *kos* from the city. The mountain-like elephants stood there in their majesty. The Khedive of the world proceeded on his way on a heaven-like elephant, attended by the "Avaunt" of the Divine Halo. The obedient princes moved on in their order. Many grandees proceeded in front of the mace-bearers (yesāwalān). The panoply[1] was there in its splendour and was followed by various officers. The noise of the drums and the melodies of the magician-like musicians gave forth news of joy. Crowds of men were gathered in astonishment on the roofs and at the doors. At the end of the day he sate in the lofty hall (daulatkhāna) on the throne of sovereignty. He dispensed justice by rewarding the loyal and punishing the hostile and made the increase of dominion and success a vehicle for worship and supplication.

One of the occurrences was the capital punishment of Bahādur. That evil man was the son of S'aīd Badakhshī[2] and owing to wickedness of brains he distressed the peasantry. He showed conspicuous folly, as has been in some measure described. He made the hill-country of Tirhut the abode of turbulence, and emerging from there when opportunity offered, he opened the hand of plundering. As that quarter was in the *jāgīr* of Ghāzī K. Badakhshī, and the Khān 'Āẓim assisted him, and he joined skill to courage, Bahādur sustained heart-breaking defeats. His home and family were plundered and his children captured. Therefore he had recourse to wiles, and sued for mercy. He came and paid his respects to Ghāzī K. As the

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[1] *Qūr.* B. 110.

[2] The Iqbālnāma and I.O. MS. 236 have Safed, and this seems correct for in the verse quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe, 307, the name of Bahādur's father is given as Isfed, which is another form of Safed.

marks of sedition and turbulence were seen in his words and actions, Ghāzī K. arrested him and sent him to the Khān 'Āẓim at Ḥājīpūr. The latter sent him to court, at the time of H.M.'s arrival he was brought in with chains on his neck, and stocks (*kunda*) on his feet, and met with his deserts.[1]

375 One of the occurrences was the arrival of Ḥaidar[2] to do homage. H.M. asks nothing from the princes of the age beyond obedience, and when they render this he does not exert the might of sovereignty against them. Accordingly he had sent Ṣāliḥ 'Āqil to advise Yūsuf K. the prince of Kashmīr. He had the good fortune to accept such counsels and to send his third son to court along with the choice things of the country. He was distinguished by royal favours.

One of the occurrences was the placing of Shahbāz K. in the prison of schooling. It is indispensable that man should at the time of smiling fortune and of increase of wealth keep watch over himself. Instability[3] and too much of the coquetry of the world—which is the demon-land of success—soon unsettle one, and cast him into eternal ruin. As by the virtue of daily-increasing fortune, good service was performed by him, and he drank more of the world's wine than he could digest, he showed some self-will. At the time of inquiry he exhibited presumption and self-auctioneering. Inasmuch as the world's lord was relieved then from the stress of the administration of the world and was taking counsel (*jānqī*) with wise and disinterested men, he looked closely into the conduct of this

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1 The T.A., Elliot V. 426, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 307, seem to say that he was killed by the K. Āẓim's servants, but probably Niẓāmu-d-dīn only means that he was caught by them.

2 He was the third son of Yūsuf Cak, B. 479, where he is wrongly described as son of Y'aqūb. Ḥaidar Malik says, I.O. MS. 510, 182*b*, that M. Ṭāhir and Ṣāliḥ were sent as ambassadors, and he gives an abstract of Akbar's letter. In another letter, p. 185*a*, Akbar reproached Yūsuf for sending first Ḥaidar who was not fit for service, and then Y'aqūb who was somewhat mad.

3 *Tangdastī*. I.O. MS. 236 has *tez-dastī*. The Iqbālnāmā says that Shahbāz had offended Miriam-makānī by behaving disrespectfully to her servants when he was in charge of the capital (Agra) and that sh had complained about this. Se a-yūnī, Lowe, 333.

narrow-souled, foul-tongued[1] man. On 24 Dai he went off to hunt in the direction of Nagarcīn, and arrived there on 3 Bahman. On that day, in drawing[2] up the guards (*taslīm-i-caukī*) the Bakhshīs of the court of the Caliphate had placed him (Shahbāz) below M. Khān, who now has the lofty title of Khān-Khānān. He went wrong and did not obey the holy commands, and severed the links of gratitude and loyalty. Or rather he let go the thread of mercantile considerations. As his capacity was small, and the wine was strong, he was unable to keep quiet at the banquet of service. He came out of the cool abode of reason, and worshipped his idiosyncrasy. H.M. in order to instruct him made him over to Rai Sāl Darbārī, and placed him in the school of practical wisdom. Next morning he returned to the capital.

One of the occurrences was the death of the (Malika Jahān) Queen of the world, Ḥājī Begam. From the time that she[3] had returned from the Ḥijāz she had, in order to perform the duties, taken up her abode near the tomb of H.M. Jinnat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn) and had looked after it. She regarded this service as the material for gathering bliss in realm and religion. The poor of that spot gained their desires from the table of her bounty. Inasmuch as the world is not a place of permanence, and a commercial ferry (guzargāh bāzargānī[4]), not a spiritual resting-place, that secluded one packed up the goods of life from this treacherous inn on the 7th (about 17 January 1582) and turned away her face from the caravanserai. A world grieved, and Time became sorrowful. How 376 can I write about the condition of the loving throne-occupant. The capacity of mortals is not sufficient for this, and it does not fall into the mould of speech. And why should it not be so! The manage-

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[1] Jahāngir, Price's translation, p. 35, calls him foul-mouthed and scurrilous.

[2] See 'Ain of 2nd Book, B. 257, where the word *taslīm* is used to describe the drawing up of the guards on the first day of the solar month.

[3] It appears that she returned in the beginning of 1580, for Aquaviva and his companions met an escort going to fetch her from the coast when they were journeying to Fatḥpūr in January—February 1580.

[4] *guzargāh bāzargānī*. Guzargāh means a ferry but possibly it means a cemetery, i.e. a place of passing away, or it may be meant for gāzargah a bleaching ground.

ment of this material world is a great fact and the accomplishments thereof a great task (?).[1] Seeing that that fountain of gentleness is filled with grief whenever a human being dies who has had some goodness in him, an estimate may be made of what his feelings were at the severing of an existence so bound to his soul. This lady of the family of dominion was an ocean of goodnesses, and loved the sovereign from his earliest years. He also was wonderfully attached to her. The ladies of the harem wept and tore their hair on account of pain for which there was no medicine. Inasmuch as H.M. was primate of the spiritual world, and there is nothing extravagant there, and no wrinkle on the heart's brow, he refrained from impatience, and took up his station in the pure shrine of resignation, and administered balms to the wounded hearts.

The awakened and enlightened well know that three caravans move towards this three to five days' inn. The first is the spermal caravan which proceeds from the loins of fathers to the wombs of mothers, the second is the becoming a celestial soul and a body descending into clay, the third is the strange condition of the beings who in this variegated abode partake of joy and sorrow. Whiles man becomes fixed there, whiles his nature is restless in it. The enlightened heart moves on with firm foot in this turmoil, and endeavours to help both itself and others. He who does not understand gets confused and bewildered.

Out of abundant kindness he sent Qāsim 'Alī K. to Delhi in order that he might convey the graciousness of H.M. to the servants of that secluded one, and might restrain them from grief, and might console them. He was also to perform in a proper manner what was necessary for the lady on her journey (i.e. help her soul by almsgiving and prayers). May Almighty God cast a ray of His own eternity on the plane of the existence of this wisely-walking sove-

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1 *dastāfzārī*. The next clause is not quite intelligible to me. There are variants in the MSS. but they do not throw light on the passage. Possibly the meaning is that Akbar showed wonderful resignation, see what follows. Ḥājī Begam appears to have been a good woman. Even Badayūnī has a good word for her. She commenced, if she did not finish, Humāyūn's tomb, and also made the Arab Sarai. See Keene's Delhi and the Āṣār Ṣanādid of Saiyid Aḥmad, p. 32. She is said to have brought 300 Arabs from Mecca.

reign! And may mortals receive life from his glorious graciousness and equity.

Quatrain.

May his soul have an eternal mansion,
May his threshold be life's sanctuary,
May his beauty long glorify the world,
May his nights be ascents heavenward, his days New Year days.

One of the occurrences was the coming of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī to court. In the middle of Bahman that wanderer in ruin's wilderness came to Fatḥpūr. Inasmuch as his infatuation was not yet laid, he did not bring the face of supplication to the threshold of fortune, but chose a place outside the city near the shrine of the hidden saint (*Pīrghaib*).[1] In spite of so many crimes his sole and 377
evil idea was that the sovereign would notice him. If repentance had wholly possessed his soul, he would have come to the court and have stained his forehead with the dust of repentance so that the Incomparable Deity should have forgiven him, and he had attained the shade of graciousness.

The adventures of this young man of slumbrous intellect and fortune are as follows. When helplessness took possession of him he for a time sought protection with the Khān Āẓim M. Koka by means of fawning. The Mīrzā, from honesty and simplicity, believed his deceitful expressions to be sincere and assisted him. He helped him in various ways with money, goods, and a *jāgīr*. The territory of Mahīsa[2] which is on the skirt of the hills was part of the last. And he promised that when the royal standards returned to India, he would take him to court, and obtain favour for him. Inasmuch as he was bad at heart, and cherished evil thoughts, he took leave and went to his estate. Many shameless men gathered round

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[1] The Iqbālnāma says that after some days he went to Miriam Makānī and got her to use her influence with her son. Probably M'aṣūm's living outside of Fatḥpūr made his assassination—which took place not long afterwards—of easier accomplishment. I do not know where the "Pīr Ghaib" is.

[2] I.O. MS. has Mahsī, and it is perhaps the Mahsī in Campārān J. II. 155 and Beames J.A.S.B. for 1885, p. 173.

him. The Mīrzā repented of having sent him, and set himself to remedy the situation. As M'aṣūm had not the strength for battle, he gave up the idea and went off, intending to go to court. His whole notion was that if an opportunity offered, he would raise the head of sedition. Otherwise he would go to court and have recourse to wheedling. The Mīrzā at the instigation of evil men allowed this strifemonger to go off without an escort of troops (?) and a great mistake was made in the matter of administration. He exerted himself in going astray and in stratagems, but as he had little means of fighting, and as there were many imperial servants on all sides of him, and his mother, sister and wife were in confinement, he could not stir up the dust of dissension, and was unable to hale himself to the corner of ruin. From helplessness he came to the city of abundance, and fell into the crapulousness of arrogance.

Also at this time Qāzī 'Abdu-s-samī' [1] was exalted to the position of Qāẓī [2] of the army (*'askar*). He was of a noble family in Andijān, and was one of the first of the age for the usual sciences, powers of exposition (*tanqīḥ-i-taqrīr*), and right thinking. Formerly Qāzī Jalāl [3] Multānī held that office. When it was discovered that worldly interests had depraved the intellect of that avaricious man, and that he had deviated from truth and rectitude, and also it became notorious that his son had embezzled treasury-money, he was removed from office and from trust, and the pen of supersession was written over the forehead of his circumstances. And in considera-

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1 B. 545, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 324. He is there called Miyankālī, i.e. from Miyānkāl, tract between Samarkand and Bokhara. Perhaps, in saying that he belonged to the grandees (*ayān*) of Andijān, which is in Farghāna, A. F. merely means that his family originally belonged to that place.

2 قضای عسکر Apparently *'askar* "army" here means "realm," for the office is described by Badayūnī (text 210) as that of *qaẓāī mamālik*. See also B. 175.

3 He was one of those who signed the declaration about Akbar's being more than a Mujtahid. Badayūnī has an account of him in vol. III. 78, and also in Lowe 213 and 323. Badayūnī gives him a high character, but says he had a dolt of a son who disgraced him by his embezzlements. The original of Lowe 323 does not say more than that a charge (*taqrīb*) of fraud was brought against Jalāl. He says one cause of his banishment was that he did not study the age and its rulers, i.e. he did not support Akbar in his religious innovations.

tion[1] of the circumstances that one who had been exalted by the King should not appear contemptible in the eyes of the public, he was exiled to the Deccan in order that he might go by that route to the Ḥijāz. The avaricious man remained in that quarter (Mecca) and died there. After that no one had been nominated to the 378
lofty post. As H.M. was impressed by the skill and disinterestedness of this excellent man, he exalted him to this high office. On the 24th the Khān Āẓim came from Bihar and was received with royal favours.

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[1] I am indebted to Maulvi 'Abdul Haq for the explanation of this difficult passage. It means that one who had been honoured by the King should not be publicly disgraced, and so he was sent, nominally to the Deccan, but in reality to Mecca. According to Badayūnī, Akbar sent him to the Deccan in hopes that the Shī'a rulers would torture him and kill him.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Beginning of the 27th Divine year, to wit, the year Khurdād of the third cycle.

At this time of the smiling of the spiritual and physical Spring, there was a tumult of joy in the kingdoms of nature. Each of them unfolded in a wondrous manner. It occurred to the ever-vernal mind of the decorator of fortune's garden to celebrate ancient festivals, and to knit together the external world. Although H.M. always reverenced that noble season (Spring), yet on account of the prevalence of custom and the general ignorance, his feelings were not manifested. As the eyes of the hearts of the enchained in bigotry were purblind, and sound reason had the rust of disuse, the truth-choosing Shāhinshah had regard to the disposition of his contemporaries, and did not bring forward his views from the closet of the soul to the hall of manifestation. The physicians of the world and enlightened rulers know that it is indispensible to refrain from forms of worship which cause disturbance among men, and they regard the soothing of the various sections of mankind as one of the greatest methods of piety to God. At this day, when reason was exalted, and small and great were searching for proofs, and when enlightened old men and felicitous young men and alert sages were impledging their hearts to demonstration and seeking for certitude, the holy thoughts of the Shāhinshāh turned to ancient usages and preferred wisdom to custom.

Verse.[1]

Hail the carriage (*jambash*) of the guides of faith
For they kindle the lamp of certitude:
Hail to the cavaliers who traverse the horizons
For they carry off the ball in realm and religion.
Among those arena-adorning cavaliers there is one
Of whom great praise is but little,

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[1] Most of the lines have already been quoted. See p. 297.

Two words may sum up my adoration,
He is Afẓal [1] by quality, Akbar by name.

On account of the glory of piety in his soul linked with heaven he does not highly regard orators [2] (perhaps eulogists) nor does he attach much importance to writers. [3] However insignificant outwardly one may be, he receives honour if he utter words of choice wisdom, and however grand one may be outwardly, if his utterances do not accord therewith, the hand of rejection (*dast-i-radd*) is laid upon him. In his splendid equity, if some account of the ancients please him, he brings it into prominence, and does not take into consideration the charge of following others. He regards the orders of 379
Sultan Wisdom as the Divine commands, and is active in carrying them out. It is clear that awakedness does not learn from slumber, nor is light sought from darkness.

From this [4] year there was the commencement of New Year feasts and other ancient festivals, and they became current throughout the world. Fresh glory was given to the holy spirits of former times, and the great men of the Age obtained their desires both in spiritual and physical matters. The rising generation too which sought for enlightenment received a great boon. Divine worship assumed its place, and under the guise of appearances, spirituality developed. The season of the equability of tempers, and the periods of other feasts of the Persian months, which former sages had devised for the worship of God and the subjugation of hearts, became resplendent—as has been in some measure stated in the beginning of this palace of enlightenment (the Akbarnāma)—and in the last volume. When the New Year was approaching, H.M. gave orders that the able workmen of the Court should decorate [5] the great Daulat-Khāna (hall of audience) which is surrounded by 120

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[1] The I.O. MSS. have 'Āqil "Wise." It is Afẓal in the quotation at p. 297.

[2] *Goīnda.* A word which has various meanings.

[3] *Nigāranda.* Possibly this means writers of panegyrics. It also can mean painters. We are told in the Ain. B. 548 that Akbar did not care for poets.

[4] Cf. Rodolfo Aquaviva's letter, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 57, where he speaks of the new institution of the Mihrjān or autumnal feast. He wrote in September 1582. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, 316, etc.

[5] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 310. The daulat-khāna was at Fatḥpūr.

stone verandahs (*aiwān*). The great officers and other blissful servants applied profound thought to the adornments thereof. Gold-embroidered stuffs of great price were used, and there were varieties of jewels. On Sunday 15 Ṣafr 990 of the lunar year, 11 March 1582, after the passing of 14 minutes, and 37 seconds, the sun conferred fresh glory on the Sign of Aries, and the flush of exuberance adorned Time. The beginning of the year Khurdād of the third cycle took place. The enlightened Shāhinshāh mounted on the throne of fortune, and there was fresh splendour, outward and inward. The jewel of theology was displayed, and there was a new beginning for talent and love.[1] (*Verse.*) The lock was taken off the Treasury, and the coin of hope was scattered among mankind. It was arranged that every year from the time of transit (to Aries) to the time of culmination there should be a great festival and that each day an auspicious servant should have charge of the glorious banquet.

In this great assembly he announced, "On this day every one will do some special thing, and make the adornment of felicity." The first to speak was the world's lord who said with his pearl-filled tongue, "Lordship (*Khudāwindī*) in truth is only applicable to the Incomparable Deity, and Service (*bandagī*) is appropriate to the man-born. What strength has this handful of weakness to take upon itself the name of Mastery (*ṣāḥibī*) and to make slaves of the sons of men?" At the same time he set free many thousands of slaves and said,
380 "How can it be right to call those seized by force by this name, and to order them to serve." And he directed that this happy band should be distinguished by the name of *Celās*[2] (disciples).

H.M. had previously directed that the illuminated ones of the presence should submit their sentiments,[3] but owing to the brisk-

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[1] Niẓāmu-d-dīn under the date of the 28th year devotes several lines to the description of the New Year's feast. These are not translated in Elliot V. 427. The feasts lasted for eighteen days. Apparently Akbar was elated by the success of his expedition to Kabul. See also Badāyūnī, Lowe, 310, who has the year (the 27th) right. It seems that Akbar regarded the year 990 as the completion of 1000 years from the beginning of Muḥammad's mission.

[2] See B. 253.

[3] The sentence seems obscurely worded. It looks at first as if it was a reference to a request that Akbar should assume the position

ness of the market of dissimulation, and the want of justice on the part of the guardians of orders, this had not been carried into effect. Among these representations was that of Prince Sulṭan Selīm. He represented that marriage should not take place before the age of twelve, that much harm and little advantage accrued from the contrary practice. The Khān A'zim M. Koka represented that the governors of the imperial provinces should not have the boldness to cut the thread of life, and that until they had laid the matter before H.M. they should not stain their hands by destroying what God had built. Where could deep discernment and far-sightedness, both of which were rare, be found conjoined with absence of motive and of malevolence? M. Khān-Khānān said it would be good if fragments of life such as small birds and creeping things[1] were not taken, and if many lives were not destroyed for a small benefit. Rajah Todar Mal said, every day, charities should be distributed at the palace, and that it should be an order that the officers also should every week, month, or year have a care of the empty-handed. M. Yūsuf K. (No. 35 of B.) represented that a daily journal of events should be obtained from all the cities and towns. Rajah Bīrbar expressed a wish that some right-minded and energetic men should act as inspectors in various places, and should represent impartially the condition of oppressed people and seekers after justice, and report unavoidable calamities. Qāsim K.'s[2] suggestion was that serais (rest-houses) should be established on the routes throughout the empire so that travellers might obtain repose. S. Jamāl (No. 113 of B.) represented that some disinterested and experienced men should be appointed who should bring to court those who were in distress and want. S. Faiẓī begged that some experienced and sympathetic persons might be appointed in the cities and bazars who should fix

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of a teacher, and have *celas* or disciples. But the beginning of the sentence about S. Selīm implies that the representations were the ideas of the officers as to what was expedient. Selīm (Jahāngīr) was born on 31 August 1569, and so was in his thirteenth year at this time.

[1] The text, probably from copying the Lucknow ed., has ماسي *māsī*, fish; but the I.O. MSS. have ماي *mai*, reptiles and insects, and this I think must be correct. But perhaps tiny fish are meant.

[2] He was an engineer and architect.

the price of articles. Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ wished for the establishment of hospitals. The writer of the noble volume petitioned that the *dāroġhas* of every city and town should record the householders thereof, name by name, and trade by trade, and should always keep a close eye on their income and expenditure, and should expel the do-nothings, the mischievous, and the bad. When they had made their suggestions to H.M. he accepted all their representations. The dejected world assumed a new face. The door was opened for the Divine bounty and a collyrium was applied to the eye of seeing. The earth rose up to give praise, and the heavens joyfully uttered thanksgiving. Every day one of the great officers had charge of the assembly. The world's lord cast the shadow of graciousness on that ornamented place and gave voice to bounteousness. Prayers to God were arranged according to excellent rules, and every one of the fortunate servants gave a little out of much as peshkash, and
381 heaped up eternal bliss. The delicate-minded Shāhinshāh received a small thing and made it the material of (conferring) great rank. When the time of the culmination (of the sun) drew near, the special hall of audience (*daulat khāna khāṣ*) was decorated. Wonder-working magician-like men performed marvels and wisdom had a daily market. The souls of the sages of old times revived, and an excellent excuse (for liberality) was furnished to the bounty-loving Shāhinshāh.

In the beginning [1] of this auspicious year the world's Khedive gave some attention to the arrangements of the affairs of the empire, and bestowed new lustre on administrative and financial regulations. Before [2] this, the duties of the viziership had been entrusted to Rajah Todar Mal, but on account of the perils of the great enterprise, and the activity of double-faced, ten-tongued persons, he had not applied himself heartily to it. This far-sighted and incorruptible man, who understood the secrets of administra-

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[1] See translation of this paragraph in Elliot VI. 61.

[2] The meaning is that Todar Mal had previously acted as Finance Minister, and had made settlements, but that he shrank from the task of revising the settlements of the whole empire. In the 18th year he made the settlement of Gujarat and filed the papers thereof. (A. N. III. 17). He again settled Gujarat in the 22nd or 23rd year. See A. N. III. 207 and 213, and Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 403, 405.

tion, was appointed to the lofty office of Head of the Dīwān (*ashraf-i-diwān*), and virtually the position of Vakīl (Prime Minister) was conferred on him. Everything was referred to him, and a choice ordering of administrative and financial matters was the result. By the blessing of a happy fate he sullied not the skirt of wish, but regarded what was good for the State, and acquired an everlasting good name. With a stout heart he maintained the laws of the Caliphate, and had no fear of the powerful and crafty. From far-sightedness and knowledge of the world, he proposed several regulations (*faṣle*) so that the holy orders might be promulgated anew, and have fresh vigour. For better enlightenment I proceed to record them, and so present a boon to posterity.

First. The collectors (*'amalguẕārān*) of the Crown-lands (Khālṣa) and the jāgīrdārs should collect the rents[1] and taxes in accordance with the code (*dastūr-al-'amal*). If from wickedness and tyranny they took from the cultivators more than the agreement, it was to be reckoned as the legitimate rent, and the oppressors were to be fined, and the amount entered in the monthly accounts. They should at every harvest inquire into the minutest[2] details and protect the subjects. The thread of the administration of justice was to be a double one, (that is) suppliants were to be reimbursed, and extortioners to be punished.

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[1] *Māl u jihāt.* The text erroneously has an iẓāfat after *māl* as if the word were *wajahāt*. *Jihat* means taxes on manufactures: see J. II. 58. If the collector took more than the stipulated rent, such excess was to be regarded as part of the collections, for which he had to account, and he was also fined, and the fine was entered in the accounts. Presumably the cultivator was to get credit for the excess. It is not improbable that the word *māhīāna* here means wages, and that the order suggested is that the sums extorted should be deducted from the collectors' salaries. *māhīāna* seems used in the sense of wages at p. 382, six lines from foot.

[2] The text has *jazū*, but some MSS. read *khabar*. Elliot translates, "At every harvest they were to carefully guard the rights of the lower classes." I have taken *jazū* to mean details. I am by no means sure that faṣl in this sentence means harvest. It seems possible that it is used here in the same sense as at line 13 of the same page, viz. to mean section or chapter of instructions. The collectors were to fully acquaint themselves with every section (*faṣl*). *Jaẓū* is used in Ain. III. 347 to mean subordinate or local,

2nd. The collectors of the crown-lands had two clerks (bitikcī)—a kārkūn and a khāṣnavīs. Generally, both of these men were corrupt, and in collusion with the village-headman (kalāntarān), and they oppressed the peasantry. If in place of these two dishonest men, one[1] trustworthy and rightly-acting officer were appointed, the country would be developed, and the peasant would be at peace.

3rd. It appeared that in the crown-parganas the cultivated lands diminished year by year. If the cultivable land were measured once for all, the peasantry would cultivate more and more land in proportion to their ability and the arrangement of progressive payments should be made. They should give one another as securities and should execute documents. Consideration should be shown in the
382 exaction of dues. In the case of land which had lain[2] fallow for four years, only half of the stipulated rent should be taken for the first year, three-fourths in the second, and in the third the peasants should be responsible for the[3] full rent. For land which had been uncultivated for two years, one-fourth of the rent should be deducted for the first year. In the case of uncultivated lands they were to be allowed to keep back a small amount of grain so that their lands might become capable of yielding rent. If destitute cultivators were assisted (by advances), documents should be taken from known men, and recoveries made, partly at the spring-harvest, and partly at the autumn harvest so that the country might soon be cultivated, the peasantry satisfied, and the treasury replenished. When the collectors increased the (total) rental, demands should not be made (from them) about[4] deficiencies in some items. Every year reports about the collectors should be submitted to H.M. in order that good

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qānūngoyān jazū "the local qānūngos."

[1] Apparently this reform was carried out, for only one bitikcī is spoken of in Jarrett II. 47.

[2] This is the *cacar* land described in J. II. 63, and 67. The arrangements there described are somewhat different from those in the text.

[3] *Mūāfiq dastūr.* Elliot has "they were to pay according to established rule"; and perhaps there is a reference to the rule in J. II. 67.

[4] *Kamī-i-b'aṣī maḥāl.* Some of the MSS. have kamīn. The meaning seems to be that if the collectors showed an increase on the total rental, they should not be challenged on account of a deficiency in some items.

servants might be rewarded, and promoted, and those who were of another sort, punished.

4th. When the crops are standing, let several measuring-parties [1] be appointed, in proportion to the amount of land, and let the measurement be started in an intelligent manner, and the kind and quality of the cultivation be noticed. The collector will choose a central [2] spot for himself, and carefully visit every part of the land and examine its condition.

When there has been an abundant rain [3] and the fields are lying in water, an amount of land up to two-and-a-half *biswas* should be left out of account, and in jungle and sandy tracts as much as three *biswas*. Abstract accounts (*sīāhha i-ẓabṭa*) should be sent in weekly, and the daily journal of collections month by month to the head office.

5th. An imperial order should be issued that a list [4] of damaged lands should be sent to court so that orders might be passed concerning them.

6th. The dwellers in ravines, who are of a turbulent disposition, think the ruggedness of their country a protection and make long the arm of oppression. Orders should be issued to the Vicegerent (*sipahsālār*), the *faujdār*, the fief-holder and to the collector that

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[1] *Ṭanāb* measuring-rope, but here used for the survey-party.

[2] Cf. the instructions to the collector, J. II. 43, where it is said that he should "establish himself where every one may have easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator."

[3] Elliot has, "In seasons when a sufficient quantity of rain fell, and the lands received adequate irrigation, two-and-a-half *biswas* (in the bīgha) were to be left unassessed." The word for irrigation is *ābnishhīn* and I have thought this meant that the lands were covered with water and so could not be properly measured. A *biswa* is the 20th part of a bigha. Cf. J. II. 44 where *half a biswa* is given as a perquisite to the headman. *Donīm* which Elliot and myself have rendered $2\frac{1}{2}$ may also mean *two halves*, or half and half. It seems to me that the passage about the rainfall is corrupt. I.O. M.S. 235 has *dādkhwāh* instead of *dilkhwāh*. The passage then may mean when there is a want of rain, or when the fields are flooded, that is in two contingencies a deduction was to be made.

[4] The text has *rāst karda* "drawn up," or made correct, but the variant *tīpkarda* has the support of most MSS. Tīp, see Wilson's Glossary, means a note of hand, and also a register.

they should act together and remedy matters. First, they should admonish, and if this prove ineffectual, they should raise the flag of activity and chastise the malefactors, and devastate their crops (*ābādī*, perhaps, habitations). The jāgīrdār should get an exchange[1], and the *mastaufī* should not make a demand on this account. If the soldiers should be[2] injured in these operations, a fine should be levied (*tāwān*). Further, the sums extorted from the peasantry are to be produced before the treasurer and he is to give credit for them in the ryots' receipts. The collectors should be paid their wages quarterly, the last payment being made when there are no arrears due from the ryots.

8th. The ryots[3] should be in such a state of obedience that they should bring their rents to the treasury without its being necessary to set guards over them. Sufficient security should be taken from the refractory, and if such cannot be found, watchmen should be set over the harvested grain and the rent be realized. An account of the rent to be collected from each person according to the amount of his cultivation should be prepared, and the date should neither be postponed nor anticipated. The patwārī of each village should allot these, name by name, among his subordinates. The collectors should send the cash along with the patwārī's signature to
383 the treasurer. They should be vigilant to put down oppression, and should make their words and their works accord.

9th. The Treasurer should receive muhrs, rupis and dāms which bear the august name (of Akbar) and make allowance for obsolete coins so that the collectors and the money-changers may reckon the old and new and ascertain the difference. The L'al Jalālī, of full weight and fineness, is worth 400 *dāms*, the square rupi is worth 40 *dāms*. The ordinary ashrafī, and the round Akbarshāhī rupi which has become worn, shall be rated as follows.

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[1] *'Iwaẓ.* Elliot has "the land was to be granted to *jāgīrdārs*" but the meaning seems to be that the jāgīrdār was to get compensation for his damaged lands or crops either by damages, or by getting other lands or crops in exchange. The *mastaufī* is the deputy-dīwan. B. VI, n. 13.

[2] There is the variant *asāmī*, but āsānī seems right. I.O. MS. 235 has "*tan āsānī sipah ke pur ziyān zadagī kashad.*" If the soldiers suffer by their repose being disturbed (?).

[3] A. F. records, J. II. 122, that the ryots of Bengal bring their rents to the Treasury eight times a year.

If the *ashrafī* be deficient by two grains of rice (*birinj*), but be of good quality, it should be valued at 360 dāms. If deficient by three grains up to one[1] *surkh*[2] its value should be 355 *dāms*. If deficient by 1½ to 2 surkhs its value is 350 dāms. A rupi deficient by one surkh of the full weight should be valued at 39 *dāms*. If deficient by 1½ to two surkhs it should be valued at 38 *dāms*. The L'al Jalālī of full weight and fineness, the Jalālī deficient from 1½ to 2 *surkhs* and Sikka Sanwāt Akbarshāhī deficient by 3 *birinj* up to one *surkh* were to be received at the treasury. If the deficiency were greater, the *taḥwīldār* (cashier) should keep the coins separate and the accountant should enter them in the day-book and send an account of them daily to the head-office. The *jāgīrdārs*, treasurers, and *ṣarrāfs* (money-changers) were to act upon these rules.

10th. The officers of the Khālṣa and the jāgīrdārs should make correct reports about the well-conducted, and the ill-conducted, the obedient, and the disobedient, in their estates so that recompense and retribution may be bestowed, and the thread of government be strengthened.

11th. Instead of the old[3] charges, one *dām* per bīgha of cultivation should be fixed. It is hoped that by this arrangement 24 dāms would be allowed to the measurement party. Their allowances would thus be—

15 sīrs flour at the price of	...	...	7 *dāms*
1¾[4] ,, butter (*roghan zard*, presumably ghī)	...	...	5 ,,
2½ ,, grain (for animals)	...	...	4 ,,
Cash	...	...	8 ,,
			—
			24 ,,

[1] B. 32. It was a gold coin.

[2] The seed of the Abrus precatorius. B. 16n.

[3] The text has *pāsbānī* but the I.O. MSS. and Elliot show that the true reading is *pāstānī* or *bāstānī*.

[4] The text, following the Lucknow ed., erroneously has *do sir ya kam* "two sirs or less" instead of *do sīr pāo kam*. Cf. J. II. 45 and Ain. text I. 286. The translation is not quite accurate. The daily allowance is 13, not 16 dāms. There were only three thānahdārs, and they and the chainman only got eight sirs of flour among them. The daily allowance for the measurement-party was 13 dāms *or* 31 sīrs. Apparently Todar Mal afterwards raised it to 24 dāms. For the word

Of this—

The amīn would get	...	5 sīrs flour
		½ sīr butter
		7 sīrs grain
		4 *dāms*
The writer ...	...	4 sīrs flour
		½ sīr butter
		5½ sīrs grain
		2 *dāms*
Three servants ...	...	6 sīrs flour
		3¼ „ butter
		3 *dāms*

In the time of the *rābī'* crop when the days are long, not less than 250 bighas should be measured, and at the time of the Kharīf, when the days are short, not less than 200 bighas.

H.M. examined these proposals with a profound eye, and accepted them.

One of the occurrences was the pardoning of M'aṣūm K. and Ṇiyābat[1] K. The former, from the time when H.M. reached Fatḥpūr, had had recourse to blandishments, and had also been in a state of confusion, and had by the help of some well-disposed persons come to H.H. Miriam Makānī. The latter evil-doer had from exhaustion (wāmāndagī) joined 'Aīn-al-mulk,[2] and (then) had, owing to his slumbrous fortune, separated himself, and indulged in thoughts of turbulence. When he did not succeed, he too had come with entreaties to the same asylum of the world, and had come into the hands of the people of Shahbāz K. As he held in his hands the protecting letter (*zinhārnāma*) of that great lady of the age it was
384 forwarded to the holy threshold, and forasmuch as the commands of that secluded one of fortune received acceptance, on 16 Farwardin

thānahdār, which seems out of place, there is the variant *thāpadār*, but possibly the true reading is *tanābdār* rope-holder.

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that Niyābat had married the daughter of Adham K., and Badayūnī, Lowe, 308, says he was the nephew of Shihābudīn K. He was sent to Rantanbhor as a prisoner and was executed in 997 (1589). M'aṣūm met with an earlier death, having been assassinated shortly after his pardon. See *infra*.

[2] This is Ḥakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk. B. 481.

(26th March 1582), these unforgivable ones took their repose in the shade of the Shāhinshāh, and a world blossomed forth.

One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān A'ẓim M. Koka to subdue Bengal. When the joys of the New Year had come to pass, and devotions had been paid to God, H.M. turned his attention to administration. He laboured for the arrangements of the universe and taking compassion on the oppressed ones in Bengal appointed an army to go there. On the 27th the Kokaltāsh was sent off as the commander, and Tarson K., Shāham K., Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, S. Farīd and many other officers were attached to the army. They received robes of honour, chosen horses, and salutary counsels. Orders were issued to Ṣādiq K., Muḥibb 'Alī K., and the soldiers generally of Bihar and Oudh, that they should make ready for war and join the victorious army. News came that the Bengal rebels had stirred up strife, and that Jabbārī, Khābīta,[1] Tarkhān Diwāna, and many other evil-doers had come to Bihar, and were oppressing the subjects. They had taken possession of Ḥājīpūr and some other towns. Ṣādiq K. and Muḥibb 'Alī K. hastened to dispose of them. M'aṣūm K. Kabulī had also become active owing to the assistance of those rebels. Bahādur Kūrūh[2] (?) came with an army of Qutlū's Afghans to the neighbourhood of Tānda, and the rebel (M'aṣum) turned back there to help him (?). The world's lord had already from foresight arranged for the work which was now to be accomplished, and men's eyes and hearts were invigorated by his forethought.

One of the occurrences was that Shamsunisā[3] Begam withdrew her face behind the veil (died). That nursling of the house-garden of the Caliphate was six months old, and the loving heart of the Shāhinshāh was illuminated by beholding her. Owing to the jugglery of fate her spirit fled on the 31st (Farwardīn, April 1582) from the straits of the bodily elements. She left this prison and

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[1] B. 356n.

[2] See text *infra*, p. 407, where this name occurs again. Can this be the "Bourah" of another Bahādur K. mentioned by Ibn Batuta, and which Mr. Blochmann says is the Hindustani بھورا "brownish"? J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 289, note. Or is Kūrūh a mistake for Kārfarmā? J.A.S.B. *id.*, p. 200.

[3] Perhaps this was the child about whom S. Cānīldah made a mistaken prophecy. Badayūnī II, Lowe 294.

departed to the pleasant abode of heaven. Owing to this heart-smiting occurrence the ladies of the sacred harem were filled with sorrow, and an universe was plunged into the whirlpool of grief.

(*Verse.*)

Much grief accrued to the world's lord on account of his being the caravan leader of the world of association, and he withdrew his heart from everything. But inasmuch as he was primate of the spiritual world, he recovered himself, and the secluded ladies also, under his guidance, entered the garden of patience, and took repose in submission to the Divine will.

CHAPTER LXVII.

Return of Gulbadan Begam and other chaste secluded ladies from the journey to the Ḥijāz.

Inasmuch as enlightenment, and action in accordance therewith, are the source of eternal dominion, and the adornment of eternal dominion, and as the fulfilment of great desires, the increase of outward dominion, and the exquisite service of the capable men of the earth lead many wise men to the dormitory of insouciance, but cause awakening in the incomparable personality of the vivid sovereign, he offered up various thanksgivings to God on receiving the news of the return of this noble caravan. When the litter of that chaste lady reached Ajmir, Prince Sultan Selīm, the pearl of the crown, was sent off to meet her. Every day one of the court-grandees was sent to convey salutations, and when the neighbourhood of Khānwa[1] received the light of bliss by her auspicious advent, the world's lord met her on 2 Ardībihisht (about 13 April 1582). On the way Khwāja Yaḥiya arrived and did homage. He produced a petition from the dignitaries of the Ḥijāz together with a list of presents. H.M. encamped there. The loyal votaries attained joy and were comforted by graciousness and inquiries after their health. The sorrowful ones of the arid desert of separation were refreshed, and they produced various gifts before H.M. There were hospitalities, and that night they remained awake and in pleasing discourses. Next day there was a glorious return (to Fatḥpūr). The ladies had spent[2] three years and six months in that country. When the Khwāja Yaḥiya showed earnestly the Shāhinshāh's wish, they were obliged

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[1] In Bhartpūr State. On the road from Agra to Ajmere, and 37 miles N. W. Fatḥpūr Sīkrī where Akbar then was.

[2] *Tawaṭṭan.* I am not sure if the reluctance to leave refers to the ladies, or to the Arabs whom K. Yaḥiya induced to emigrate to India. See Mrs. Beveridge's Gulbadan, Introduction, 74.

to give up their residence.[1] They embarked in the ship Tezrav (the Swift) while the Khwāja and the pilgrims took their places in the ship S'aī[2] (effort?). Near Aden most of the boats were wrecked. They were in trouble there for seven months. The governor there did not behave properly, and when Sulṭan Murād,[3] the ruler of Turkey, heard of this he punished that ill-fated one. They arrived

[1] The ladies left Gujarat in October 1576. If they stayed $3\frac{1}{2}$ years at Mecca they should have left in March or April 1580, but they must have started earlier if they were at Aden in April 1580. Probably they left in February soon after the completion of the pilgrimage of Zīl-ḥajja 987. The seven months' detention at Aden would take them to the end of the Muḥ. year 988 or to January 1581. As they did not reach Fatḥpūr till April 1582, they must have stayed a considerable time in Gujarat. Badayūnī, Lowe 216, seems to say that Gulbadan B. and Salīma Sultān left Agra for the pilgrimage in 982 (1574-75) and arrived at Mecca in Sh'abān 983, November 1575, after having been detained a year in Gujarat. They performed the pilgrimage four times, viz. in ends of 983, 84, 85 and 86. Niẓāmu-d-dīn under the 28th year says they performed several greater and lesser pilgrimages. On the return voyage they were detained for a year at Aden and returned in 990. But I think that there is some mistake and that Gulbadan did not leave Agra till 983, i.e. the 20th year, and that as she was detained for a year in Gujarat, she did not reach Mecca till 984. (See also Lowe, 320). The four pilgrimages then would be those of the last months of the years 984-87, which would start her on her homeward journey in January-February 1580. Bāyāzīd found her in Aden in April 1580, but this must have been about the beginning of her stay. The seven months of A. F., or the one year of Badayūnī, would bring her to the end of 1580 or beginning of 158; and the voyage to Surat, the detention in Gujarat, and the journey to Ajmere, where they performed a supplementary pilgrimage, and to Fatḥpūr, would occupy another year.

[2] The text has *jihāz-i-s'aī*, ship of effort? There is the variant *saifī*, and the I.O. MSS. seem to have *safī* سفيّ which may perhaps mean swift. B.M. MS. 27, 247 seems to have *Har do* for the ladies' ship, but possibly this is only an error for Tezrav. A. F. says *most* of the ships or boats were destroyed. Perhaps some went on to India, and it was these that the cavalcade was going to meet which Aquaviva and his party met on 8th February at Sanmarian between Ujjain and Sārangpūr. Murray's Discoveries *infra* II. 87.

It would seem from B.M. MS. 27, 247 that Miriam-makānī came (from Delhi or Agra) to welcome the pilgrims.

[3] Murad III who came to the throne in 1574.

at Gujarat when the standards of fortune had gone[1] off to Kabul, and on account of the rains and of H.M.'s being in Zabulistān, some delay occurred.

One of the occurrences was the pardoning the offences of **386** Khwājagī[2] Fatḥ Ullah. He was one of the near servants of H.M. and gathered bliss in waiting upon him. From associating with evil-doers he departed far from daily-increasing dominion. From evil fate he became a vagabond in the desert of failure. When the world's lord disembarked from his boat and went off posthaste to Ajmere, he was sent off to bring Quṭbu-d-dīn K., and an order was given that he should bring him by the way of Mālwa in order that he might send from there able envoys to give counsels to the ruler of Khāndes, and hold out promises and threats to him about sending (to Akbar) Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. When they arrived there they (the ambassadors) obeyed the order and used eloquence in persuading (the ruler of Khāndes?). The Khwājagī also craftily went to Burhānpūr along with them. After completing this affair he went off to the Ḥijāz. Apparently on account of sloth and narrowness of capacity he did not like the burden of service, and from ignorance brought such great evils on himself. The wondrous sphere of fate inflicted retribution on him and he fell into thousands of calamities. But by the goodness of his disposition he became aware of the wickedness of his conduct, and reposed for a while in the shelter of the chaste ladies, who were returning from the Ḥijāz. Now by their intercession he was pardoned, and laid hold of the skirt of daily-increasing fortune.

One of the occurrences was the shamefaced arrival of S. 'Abdu-n-nabī and Mullā 'Abdullah Sultānpūrī. It has been mentioned that when H.M. proceeded to test the learned men, and when the gold-incrusted nature of the sellers of tales (the fraudulent) was revealed, the position of these men became difficult and they fell into confusion. They had not the vigour of intellect to bring to market the jewel of knowledge with suitable replies, nor had they the candour to com-

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[1] Akbar left for the Panjab and Kabul on 6th February 1581 and returned on 1st December of that year.

[2] He was the son of Ḥājī Ḥabībullah, B. 499. Badayūnī, Lowe 323, mentions that he was sent to the Deccan along with Qāẓī Jalāl Multānī. He was a Sh'ia. Apparently his offence was the going off to Mecca without leave.

mence their studies anew, nor the guidance so as to come to shore out of the confusion. Owing to abundant cupidity their sole thought was how to mend the old scarf of their hypocrisy and to make their days pleasant by attaining their desires. The respect-loving sovereign perceived that a journey to the Ḥijāz would be for their good, and sent them off, willing or unwilling. They were made comfortable by having the control of the body of pilgrims, and the veil remained suspended over their wretchedness. An order was given that they should not return without being commanded to do so. As their minds were full of cupidity, they had resort to vulpine tactics, and made use of fawning language. Might they be excused from going? Their improper ideas did not succeed, and their trickery was unsuccessful. They went off, injured spiritually and temporally. At this time babblers stirred up commotions in India; they made one into a hundred and exulted in envy. They thought the world was made for their pleasure, and knocked at the door of return, thinking that perhaps they might be shone upon, and that the desires of the black-hearted ones might be accomplished. Though their friends and acquaintances reminded them of the royal 387 orders, and the rulers of that country (the Ḥijāz) observed H.M.'s commands, and did not give them leave, they contrived to escape. When they heard in Gujarat of the failure of the rebellion, and of the punishment of the wicked, they were struck with shame and sought protection from the secluded ladies. When H.M. heard of their arrival, and of their designs, he ordered that some active men should go and bring into prison those ignorant and evil men in such a manner that the ladies should not know of it. Mullā 'Abdullah had died of error. The other scoundrel was seized in that manner, and was out of a love for justice subjected to an examination. He could give no answer except silence and ashamedness. From graciousness and a desire to save him from contempt he was sent to the school of instruction and there the cup of [1] his life overflowed (he died).

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[1] The Iqbālnāma in the account of 27th year says that he was put into the charge of A. F. and that the latter by reason of an ancient enmity, and because he knew Akbar would ask no questions, had him strangled. Badāyūnī, Lowe 321, says he was put in charge of Todar Mal, and this statement also appears in the A. N. MS. 27, 247, p. 333b. Badāyūni

does not name A. F., but he also says that 'Abdu-n-nabī was strangled. See *id.*, Lowe, 244. There seems no reason to doubt that 'Abdu-n-nabī met with a violent death. A. F. must have known this, and his silence tells against him. Mullā 'Abdullah died in 990 (1582) at what must have been an advanced age. 'Abdu-n-nabī seems to have been killed in 992 (1584). See his biography and that of Mullā 'Abdullah in Darbārī Akbarī, pp. 311 and 320. Mullā 'Abdullah died in Aḥmadābad. The Maaṣir, III. 256 mentions a rumour that he was poisoned by Akbar's orders. The Iqbālnāma has the curiously worded remark that he vacated his body to escape the hand of the king's wrath. It would appear from the Iqbālnāma that the real charge against 'Abdu-n-nabī was that he had defamed Akbar at Mecca and represented him as not being a good Masalman. See also Akbar's letter to the *sharīfs* of Mecca which seems to refer to this.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Victory of Ṣādiq K. and death of Khabīṭa.

(Eight lines of reflections about the good fortune of Akbar are omitted.)

When the Khān Ā'ẓim and many of the officers of Bihar had come to court for the New Year festivities, Khabīṭa with a number of ill-fated, turbulent men came to Bihar from Bengal, and stirred up commotion and oppressed the weak. The Khān Ā'ẓim's men were unable to protect Ḥājīpūr, and the rebels took possession of it and of many parganahs. Ṣādiq K. maintained himself bravely in Patna and assembled the fief holders of that country. They acted in harmony and resolved to give battle, and drew out their forces. Ṣādiq K. commanded the centre, Muḥibb 'Alī K. was on the right **388** wing, Ulugh K. Ḥabshī on the left. Bihār K. and Abū-l-m'aālī were in the van. Muḥammad Qulī Beg Turkamān had charge of the artillery. The rebels also made ready for battle. Khabīṭa, who was the sword of the vain-thoughted, was in the centre, Jabbārī was on the right wing, and Dastam and Rustam, the sister's sons of Khabīṭa, were on the left. Tarkhān Diwāna, S'aīd Beg, and Shāh Dāna were in the van. The imperial servants sent some brave men along with the artillery across the Ganges to Ḥājīpūr, and constructed a fort on the bank of the Gandak. Fights continually took place between the two armies, and there was daily market for the merchandise of life-sacrifice. As fortune favoured the imperialists they were victorious and the rebels fled in disgrace. When these combats had gone on for forty days, and the owlish natures could effect nothing in the light of day, they made a night attack. The brave soldiers of the eternal fortune behaved still more nobly. 'Alī Beg, the cousin of Ṣādiq K., lost his life after fighting gallantly. Many applied themselves to the work and raised the pæan of joy. The enemy were defeated. Next morning on the 24th the officers crossed over the river and engaged. The enemy, whose confidence

had been increased by the chief officers not having crossed and the soldiers taking refuge in the fort, came forward to do battle. First the sister's sons of Khabīṭa left the van and fell upon the imperial wing. Muḥibb 'Alī K. stood firm. While the battle was doubtful, the enemy's van attacked the imperial left wing. Ḥabīb 'Alī K., the son of Muḥibb 'Alī K., did wonders, but the imperialists were nearly being worsted. Just then the imperial van displayed bravery. Ḥamza Beg, Ghazā 'Alī and Ḥasan Mīāna came from the centre and gave fresh lustre to the fight. Khabīṭa with a large force drew up in front of Ṣādiq K. Muḥammd Qulī Beg, Junaid Maral and many strenuous men distinguished themselves. While 389
the contest was going on so keenly, the right wing of the enemy suddenly took flight, and in a short time the audacious rebels were stained with the dust of defeat. The imperialists were somewhat astonished at this celestial aid, and sought to understand it. Then they recognized that it was the wondrous work of fortune, and turned to the giving of thanks. Suddenly Mīrak Ḥusain, the brother of 'Arab Khānjahānī, brought the head of Khabīṭa, and gave the news of joy. It appeared that in the heat of the attack a cannon-ball had struck that ringleader of the enemies of God, and had destroyed the success of the shameless ones. His followers lifted up the lifeless body and set off, but from confusion and cowardice they threw it down and fled. The above-mentioned person cut off his head and brought it in. Thus the wondrous work of fortune became known to small and great. Thanksgivings were offered to God. The enemy numbered more than 5000 experienced soldiers, while the imperialists had less than 2000 fit for battle. It does not enter into the ideas of ordinary observers that the latter could withstand the former. Khabīṭa was of the Moghal tribe, and had served in the Badakhshān army. He had distinguished himself by acts of daring in company with M'aṣūm K. Kabulī, and had in a short time become the head of the rebels of the day. His punishment was a lesson to the turbulent. His head was sent to Court as a proof of the heavenly aids. The officers were exalted by various favours, and as the rainy season was near at hand Shāh Qulī Maḥram, S. Ibrāhim and S. Farīd Bokhārī, who had been sent off on account of the disturbances in Bengal and Bihar, were recalled.

One of the occurrences was the failure and return of M. Khān

from Sorath.[1] Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. sent an army under M. Khān who was related to him, against Amīn K. Ghorī and to conquer Sorath. He from cowardice and want of planning did not succeed, and an easy task became a difficult one. If the evil of foolishness happen to the reason which is the ruler of the bodily elements, the subjects of this king cannot maintain their health, so if the commander fail in skill and courage, what can be expected of his men? The world's lord reproved him for his self-conceit and ignorance, and he had the good sense to atone for his fault by humility and entreaties.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to the pleasant land of Kashmīr. When Ṣāliḥ Dīwāna represented to H.M. the loyalty of the ruler of that country and his alarm at no
390 one's being sent to him, the Khedive, who receives little and gives much, sent Shaikh Y'aqūb Kashmīrī[2] to him with kind commands, and valuable favours, and also gave leave to his son Ḥaidar.

One of the occurrences was the death of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī. H.M. in his abundant kindness forgave this man who was worthy of death, and left the retribution of his actions to the incomparable Deity, as has been in some measure related. Inasmuch as the picture of his life was doomed to be erased, the stewards of fate brought him to an end, to the glory of the throne, the prosperity of justice, and the retirement of the turbulent. On 23 Tīr (July 1582) at midnight he was going from the Palace to his house when some men fell upon him and killed him. In spite of much investiga-

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1 This is part of the peninsula of Kāthīwār and not the fort of Surat. The text has سورت but I.O. MS. 235 has سورنه. See J. II. 243, 258. The M. Khān here mentioned is M. Khān Nīshāpūrī and Shihāb's brother's son. He is sometimes called M. Jān. B. 502. There is an account of the expedition in the Mirāt Sikandarī, Bom. lith., p. 372. Fatḥ K., the general of Amīn K. Ghorī, offered to Shihābu-d-dīn to make over Jūnagarh to him, and Shihābu-d-dīn sent his nephew with 4000 horse. But Fatḥ K. died, and M. Khān was eventually defeated by Amīn K. Ghorī and was wounded and had to fly.

2 Also called Ṣairafī or Ṣarfī, that being his *takhallaṣ*. He was a poet. See B. 479 and 581. Badayūnī III. 142 has a long notice of him. He died in the 11th month of 1003, July 1594. The Iqbālnāma says that he had the advantage of knowing the Kashmīrī language.

tion and close inquiry the affair was not cleared[1] up. H.M. had compassion on his circumstances and placed his children under the shadow of his graciousness.

Another occurrence was the capital punishment of Jalā.[2] As in the dispensary of bodily physicians both poisons and antidotes are employed, and it is essential that both be kept in stock, so also in the drug-shop of just kings, who are spiritual physicians, both the pure and the impure are cherished, and good is wrought by the evil, and the wicked suffer retribution. Former rulers have watched carefully over this class of men and have by the "Avaunt" of majesty kept them in check. Whenever they make use of this greedy, selfish crew they do so after much consideration, and they make goodness of object the foundation of such use. Those who think it proper to abstain from seeing this injurious crew, and still more from superintending and supporting them, seem not to have fully comprehended matters, or they have confined their tasks within the limits of their abilities. Those of wide capacity are not confounded by hearing of such men (the wicked); they do not give way to anger, and inflict retribution slowly and with deliberation. Such is the praiseworthy conduct of the sovereign of our age. Under circumspection, this class of men are admitted to the court of fortune. Such gentleness is shown to them that they forget themselves, and open their hands for various kinds of oppression. The Shāhinshāh in this way makes trial of men and converts poison into antidotes. His sole desire is to preserve equability, and to worship God. A fresh proof of this was given by the circumstances of

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[1] It was generally supposed that Akbar had brought about his murder. The fact that he was living outside the walls made the assassination easier, and Badayūnī, Lowe 307, says he was cut to pieces in his litter outside of the city-gates. The Iqbālnāma says that he deserved death, but that out of deference to Miriam-makānī, who had interceded for him, Akbar could not openly order him to be killed. As however he did not show signs of repentance, Akbar ordered Sikandar Qalmāq, who was a trusted *cela*, to put an end to him privately, and accordingly this was done. There is a notice of him in the Maaṣir III. 246.

[2] The Iqbālnāma calls him Jalābī or Ḥalābī Cābuksawār, and says he was the best horseman of the day. Probably he is the Rūmī K. Ustād Jalābī of the 'Aīn, B. 441, who accompanied Gulbadan Begam to Mecca, A.N. III. 146.

this easily-intoxicated wretch. He was a broker's son, and though shameless and rough in manner, he got admission to court by his profession of horse dealer.[1] He was highly trusted, and as the time of retribution had not arrived, he for a long time actively
391 engaged in ministering to his passions. At this time it came to the royal hearing that he had seduced a woman and had killed her husband. H.M. sent him to prison, and when the charge was investigated, it was found to be true. Many other evil acts of his came to light, and the record of his wickednesses was read out. On the 30th (10th July 1582) in spite of long intimacy and exceeding graciousness he received his punishment and became dust-stained, in the earthbin of annihilation. Deceit ceased to be current, and truth was exalted. Mankind received instruction, and the wicked were terrified.

Abundance of collyrium was bestowed, and crowds of men opened their eyes to the daily-increasing beauty of the world's lord.

At this time an order was issued for the coming of that compendium of ancient sages, Amīr Fatḥ Ullah of Shīrāz. H.M. had long wished for him. The latter also had for a long time desired to come to court but fortune had been unpropitious. At last he came to the Deccan from Shīrāz at the instance of 'Ādil K. When the latter died, his old idea was renewed, and he was relieved from his distress by various kindnesses. An order was sent to the rulers of the Deccan and to the fief-holders of the empire that they should assist him and guide him on this way. He very eagerly brought his jewel of knowledge to the market.

Among the occurrences was that the cup of life of Jīvan[2] K. Koka became full. On 10 Amardād he died of an abdominal complaint, and of piles. H.M. craved forgiveness for him from God, and visited and comforted the mourners in his family.

One of the occurrences was the bursting of a tank.[3] On the top of the hill of Faṭḥpūr, to the north of the gateway (*darǵāh*), a

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1 The text has *asp dallālī*, but the true reading apparently is *asp jallābī*, which however means much the same thing. See Vullers and Behar 'Ajam S.U.

2 Jīvan is mentioned as a soldier on p. 331 of this volume.

3 The Iqbālnāma calls it the Anūptalao tank. But this seems doubtful. The position does not

reservoir had been made by H.M. Many pleasure-loving servants met on its banks, and H.M. was present. The princes, the officers and other special persons were assembled there. Every one of them was paying his respects in some special manner. Inasmuch as the wise make use of sport, and test men when they are at ease, pleasure was being keenly pursued. Some were playing at *caupar* (draughts), some at chess, and many were occupied with cards. H.M. was studying all the groups with the norm of knowledge. Inasmuch as the lordship of the outward world, and the primacy of **392** the spiritual world, have been bestowed on H.M. in full measure, the incomparable Deity preserved H.M's holy person from everything bad. Though it was his holy idea that there should be celebration [1] (of his birthday), yet he did not approve of the playing of games on such an occasion.

Half of the day of the 18th (Amardād) had passed away when suddenly a side of that little ocean gave way, and the water rushed out. Though by the blessing of the holy personality none of the courtiers was injured, yet many persons of lower rank suffered loss (were drowned (?), and many houses of the common people were carried away by the flood. In spite of the crowd of people only one of those known to the king, viz. Madadī [2] cītabān, lost his life. He who knew the mysteries of the heavens regarded this as a Divine message, and became averse to the celebration of such occasions, and perceived that God did not approve of this business of recreation. In thanksgiving for the Divine protection he opened the hand of bounty and made a world attain its desires. The courtiers

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seem to agree, and the Anūp talao —at least the one which was filled with coin—was a small tank and could hardly have produced so much damage.

[1] *Nigāshta āmid.* The catastrophe occurred on 18 Amardād or about the 28th July 1582, which corresponded to 5 Rajab 990, i.e. to Akbar's birthday. A. F. says Akbar wished the day to be marked or celebrated (*nigāshta*), but he did not approve of the playing of cards, etc., and so did not take part in this. The phrase *nigāshta amid* is however obscure. It might be expected that the text was corrupt, but all the MSS. seem to have the same reading.

Generally *nigāshta āmid* means "was written."

[2] The Iqbālnāma calls him Madavī.

all awoke and became followers of enlightenment, and recognizing that the holy personality had saved them from this celestial disaster increased in their devotion. That receiver of Divine instruction, in order to pay his devotions and in memory of this great mercy, resolved that meat should not be tasted on this day (the 18th) of each solar month. He also resolved that every year he should be weighed twice. According as from his birth he had been weighed on 5 Rajab in conformity with the lunar calendar, so also he should be weighed on the day of Ormuzd of the month Āban of the solar year. The courtyard of bounty was thrown open, and twelve articles were prescribed for the solar weighing, viz. (1) gold, (2) silk, (3) quicksilver, (4) perfumes, (5) copper, (6) pewter,[1] (7) drugs,[2] (8) butter, (9) rice and milk,[3] (10) iron, (11) various grains, (12) salt. A vow was also made to God that meat would not be tasted in this month (Ābān). Also a similar fast was to be observed from the month of Āẕar[4] in accordance with the number of years of the venerable life. And in accordance with the number of years, sheep, goats and fowls were given separately to the sects which do not take life. An order was also issued to the chosen disciples that in every solar year they should observe the month of their birth by not injuring living creatures, and should not make their bellies the burying place of

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1 Text *bassad* coral. But coral was rare and so unlikely to be made the 6th article in a scale of diminishing values.

Besides *bassad* is not a common word even in Arabic for coral, and there is no sign of a *tashdīd* in the MSS. The I.O. MSS. and the Iqbālnāma have *jasad*, saffron. This is more likely, but I believe the real word to be *jast*, which is Hindustani for pewter and so agrees with Ain 18, B. 266, where the 6th Article is *rūḥ-i-tūtiya*, which, as we know from B. 40, is thought by some to be the same as *jast*.

2 *Makayīf*. Intoxicating drugs, perhaps opium.

3 *Shīrbirinj*. A recipe for making it is given at B. 59. It was to contain milk, rice, sugar-candy and salt.

4 *Āẕar* is the month following Abān. The whole of Ābān was a fast owing to its being a birth-month. The fast was therefore continued into the next month. The passage in text is explained by the chapter on Ṣūfīānā, Fasting, in the 'Ain. It is said there, B. 62: "When the number of fast days of the month of Ābān had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of 'Aẕar also were kept as fasts. At present the fast extends over the whole month."

animals. For the lunar weighing eight[1] things were appointed: silver, cloth, lead, tin, fruits, sweetmeats, vegetables, sesame-oil. As the weighings of sons and grandsons which took place according to the lunar year were at this time made according to solar year, Prince Sulṭan[2] Selim's weighing was fixed for the 18th Shahriyūr **393** instead of the 17th Rabī-al awwal, that of Prince Sultan Murād for the 27th Khūrdād instead of the 3rd Muharram, that of Prince Sultan Daniel for the 28th Shahriyur instead of the 2nd Jamāda-al-awwal.

One of the occurrences was the testing of the silent of speech (khamūshān-i-goyā). There was a great meeting, and every kind of enlightenment was discussed. In the 24th Divine year H.M. said that speech came to every tribe from hearing, and that each remembered from another from the beginning of existence. If they arranged that human speech did not reach them, they certainly would not have the power of speech. If the fountain of speech bubbled over in one of them, he would regard this as Divine speech, and accept it as such. As some who heard this appeared to deny it, he, in order to convince them, had a *serai* built in a place which civilized sounds did not reach. The newly born were put into that place of experience, and honest and active guards were put over them. For a time tongue-tied (*zabān basta*) wetnurses were admitted there. As they had closed the door of speech, the place was commonly called the Gang Maḥal (the dumb-house). On the 29th (Amardād—9th August 1582) he went out to hunt. That night he stayed in

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[1] In B. 266 only seven articles are specified, though it is stated that the weighment was against eight. This is because B. has left out the *shīrīnī*, which means sweetmeats. Another account, which is that given in the Iqbālnāma, makes up the number eight by giving two classes of fruits, viz. the sour, and the sweet, *turshī u shīrīnī*. By the *turshī*, pickles are probably meant. B. has mustard-oil for the second-last article, but the word is *kunjud*, and in the 'Aīn, Book III, p. 299, *kunjud* is explained as what is called in Hindi *tīl*, i.e. sesame. See J. II. 64. The importance of the list of articles lies in the fact that they were afterwards distributed to the poor.

[2] Under the 28th year Niẓāmu-d-dīn mentions that on Thursday 19 Sh'abān 991 Akbar went to the house of Miriam Makānī to celebrate the weighment of Prince Selīm. 19 Shāban is = 7 September 1583, but probably it should be 19 Sh'abān 990, which is = 18 September 1582.

Faiẓābād,[1] and next day he went with a few special attendants to the house of experiment. No cry came from that house of silence, nor was any speech heard there. In spite of their four years they had no part of the talisman of speech, and nothing came out except the noise of the dumb. What the wise Sovereign had understood several years before was on this day impressed on the hearts of the formalists and the superficial. This became a source of instruction to crowds of men. H.M. said, "Though my words were proved, they still are saying the same things with a tongueless tongue. The world is a miserable abode of sceptics (*nāmuḥaramān*). To shut the lips is really to indulge in garrulity. They have hamstrung the camel of the Why and Wherefore, and have closed the gate of speech with iron walls."[2]

Verse.[3]

Enough, Niẓāmī, be silent of discourse,
Why speak to a world with cotton in its ears,
Shut your demonstrations into a narrow phial,
Put them all in a phial and place a stone thereon.

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[1] Not found.

[2] cf. Badāyūnī, Lowe 296, and the account given by Akbar himself to Father Jerome Xavier. J.A.S.B. for 1888 and 1896 (General Maclagan's articles), p. 77. A. F. represents Akbar as making the experiment in order to prove that speech was not spontaneous with children, and as having proved his point. But Xavier's account shows that Akbar had an idea that he might find out the sacred language. It was a cruel experiment. Akbar's comment on his critics is obscure. Apparently, it means that though he proved his case, they still are unconvinced.

[3] These four lines occur in Niẓāmī's Khusrau and Shīrīn, in an apologue of Plato near the end of the poem, but all four lines are not consecutive in the poem.

CHAPTER LXIX.

Exaltation of M. Khān by being made the Guardian to Prince Sultan Selim.

[This chapter begins with a dissertation on the evils of bad companionship and the advantages of a good education. It then proceeds to state that M. Khān was made the prince's tutor (Atālīq].

Though Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān had been promoted to the office of 394
Atālīq, yet as at this time he had charge of a distant country (Gujarat), M. Khān, son of Bairām K., who possessed far-sighted wisdom and daily-increasing loyalty, was appointed to the post. In thanksgiving for this he gave a great feast, and begged for the presence of H.M. On 27 Shahriyūr the world's lord honoured him with his company, and crowds of men attained their desires.

One of the occurrences was the illness of H M. and his return to health. Just as those whose foot has slipped in search are brought by an injury into the high way, so does it happen to the prudent walkers in the pleasant lands of holiness. Short-sighted and crooked-minded persons regard such things as a retribution, and the acute and profound perceive that they are in the nature of rue (a protection against the evil eye). On 20 Mihr (beginning of October 1582) H.M. had an internal pain, and a world was seized with dread. When even the wicked and impure became sorrowful 395
what conception can be formed of the grief of the good, and of those who regard things in a business light? Who can conceive the melancholy condition of the true and loyal, and of the devoted followers? The pious sovereign looked to the True Physician, and did not regard the medicine of mortal physicians. He comforted those standing around him by weighty counsels. At length, after much talk, he yielded to the faithful and distressed ones, and took medicine. The Greek and Indian doctors proceeded to use their remedies. Laxatives are of most use in such a case, and Indians

do not employ these. May Providence grant that there be no such experience in the case of a distinguished man, and still less of a just king! On one hand was the indifference of H.M. to the taking of medicine, on the other there was the uproar of those self-conceited men. The heart of the writer of the Book of Fortune (A. F.) was stirred up, and he cast away the thread of humility. I represented (to Akbar) in a gentle manner, "I admit that all are true and well-intentioned. What can come of various methods? What is the use of soft speech out of season when the mind is sick? The Persians say that unless aperients are used, there will be blood (dysentery) and an easy matter will become difficult. Choose one who is less bigoted, and who is good and enlightened and experienced, and converse with him." My remarks were nearly being accepted, and the matter was about to be made over to the Greek treatment. But some of the envious did not permit this, and accordingly blood came. Out of necessity recourse was had to Greek medicine, and the tongues of the envious were closed. On the first day of Ābān (about 10th October) there were signs of recovery, and in a short time the sacred elements (of Akbar) became whole.[1] For three days he did not touch food, and for 17 days he was benefited by eating without using oil. After one month and six days he was restored to complete health. The loyal received fresh life, and the traders in good deeds opened the shops of thanksgiving and the general public obtained deliverance from bewilderment, and rejoiced.

(*Verse*).

Also at this time the beginning of the solar weighment took place according to the rule which has been mentioned, and there was a daily market of liberality.

One of the occurrences was the deliverance[2] of Shahbāz K. from

[1] Ferishta notices this illness and says that people were alarmed because Akbar, like his father, was an opium-eater. Khāfī K. says that there were various rumours, etc., and that to quiet them Akbar, though much broken, held many assemblies. He says he sent Shahbāz K. to Bengal as he was not able to go himself. Bartoli, pp. 40 and 42, also alludes to Akbar's drinking propensities, and accounts for his falling asleep at the religious discussions owing to over-indulgence in arrack and opium.

[2] Ferishta says that he was set at

the straits of prison. As the marks of repentance were visible on the forehead of the condition of that one who had stumbled into neglect, he was raised up from the school of instruction to the pleasant abode of favour, and he from thanksgiving increased his 396
loyalty and service, and gathered the flowers of success, as will be related in its place.

One of the occurrences was the appointment of acute and unavaricious overseers. As it came to the royal hearing that from the abundance of business and cupidity, there was much oppression in the conduct of the work of buying and selling, and that the traders were injured, he from a love of justice and from graciousness, ordered that various articles should be put into the charge of tactful and honest men in order that the unjust might be placed in the corner of failure. M. Khān had charge of horses, Rajah Todar Mal of elephants and grain, Zain Khān Koka of oil, Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram of fruits and sweetmeats, Ṣādiq K. of gold and silver, 'Itimād K. Gujrātī of jewels, Shahbāz K. of gold brocade, M. Yūsuf K. of camels, Sharīf K. of sheep and goats, Ghāzī K. Badakhshī of salt, Makhṣūṣ K. of armour, Qāsim K. of aromatics, Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ of intoxicants, Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of leathern articles, Naurang K. of dyes, Rajah Bīrbal of cattle and buffaloes, S. Jamāl of drugs, Naqīb K. of books, Laṭīf Khwāja of hunting animals, Ḥabīb Ullah of sugar, and the author of woollens. An order was given that the auspicious overseers should receive ½ p.c. from purchasers, and one p.c. from sellers, and the half should be their reward. The title of Ṭūī begī[1] was bestowed on Bāqī K. and he was to get 5 p.c. on what was assessed on the two parties (to the marriage).

By this excellent regulation the rules of inspection were ob-

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liberty in Ramzān 990, September-October 1582. But Badayūnī, Lowe 333, says he was released and sent to Bengal on 17th Jamāda aṣ ṣānī, 9th July 1582. He also says A. F. procured his release.

[1] The text has tomān bēgī but the I.O. MSS. and even the Lucknow ed. show that the true reading is *ṭuī begi*, i.e. director of marriages. See B. 278. The subsequent clause too seems to be wrong. Instead of *ba—an giroh* the I.O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have *ba ṭarafīn*, and the passage is explained by B. 278 where we read "His Majesty takes a tax from both parties to enable them to show their gratitude."

served, and the garden of the outer world was kept irrigated and verdant. The general public had repose, and lustre was given to the obedient.

One of the occurrences was the bringing of Nūr Muḥammad to court. He had become notorious among the rebels of the Eastern Provinces, and had been active in oppressing the subjects. When the Khān Ā'ẓim M. Koka came to Jaunpūr, intelligence was received that that evil-doer had come from Bengal by way of Tirhut and had joined with Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr and stirred up commotion, and been plundering in the district of Sāran. As the heavenly superintendents arrange for the retribution of evil-doers, they were disgraced before the arrival of the victorious troops. Having heard of the approach of the troops, they prepared for battle. A large caravan of salt[1] merchants was passing, and the scoundrels went to plunder it. The merchants made a breast-work of their bags and stood firm. The assailants were soon repulsed. After that they took refuge twelve *kos* from Tirhut, and meditated oppressing the
397 weak. Just then the victorious army unfurled their banners, and addressed themselves to the making a bridge over the Ganges, and to the punishment of the rebels. When the bridge was nearly finished, the rebels lost heart and sought protection with the zamindar of Kalyānpūr,[2] but could not find it, and returned unsuccessful. Brave men pursued them. 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr was about to go to Bengal by way of Tirhut.[3] The Kasih[4] tribe destroyed him and

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[1] The text has *mulk*, but the I.O. MSS. 236 and Elliot V. 428n show that *nimak* is the true reading.

[2] In Sarkār Sāran, J. II. 156. This was Kalyān Mal, an ancestor of the Hatwa Rāj. See G. N. Dutt, Hist. Hutwa Rāj, J.A.S.B. for 1904, pp. 181 and 225.

[3] I.O. MS. 236 and Lucknow ed. have "in Narhan," and this is possibly the true reading. It is given in Bib. Ind. ed. as a variant.

[4] Text کھیتہ Khītah, but several variants are given, one being کسیہ kīsah. I believe this last to be a mistake for کسیدھ Kasih, the dots having been taken as coming before the ي instead of after it. The tribe then is the Khasī, or Khāsī tribe of Assam and Sylhet, commonly written of as the Cossyahs. Whether A. F. is correct or not in extending their habitat to Santhalia or Bhagalpur—apparently the place where 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr and his companions were cut off—I do not know. But I think there can be no doubt that it was the name of the Cossyah tribe that he meant to write. Possibly the men were murdered in

seventy others, and cleansed the earth of the disturbance caused by that strifemonger. There are many of this tribe in the hill-country. In appearance and manners they are like Qalmāqs, but they are dark-complexioned. Nūr Muḥammad, the son of Tarkhān, who was proceeding towards Gya, was caught by the Khān Ā'zim's men near Campāran.[1] They put chains on his neck and clogs (*kunda*) on his arms. Out of regard to justice he was capitally punished, and evil-doers had their eyes opened.

Also at this time Rajah Bīrbar's abode was made illustrious by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. He was among the intimate associates. For him H.M. had ordered the erection of stone-palaces. When they were finished, he expressed a wish that they might be glorified by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. On 7 Bahman (January 1583) there was a splendid feast, and by the Shāhinshāh's graciousness his wish was gratified.

Also at this time the commander-in-chiefship of the province of the Panjab was bestowed on Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and S'aīd K. received a *jāgīr* in Sambal. He was ordered to punish 'Arab Bahādur who had stirred up strife in the hill-country there. On 8 Isfandārmuẓ H.M. rode off to enjoy hunting, and at the close of the day alighted at the town of Jalesar. Jagmāl[2] Panwār has erected on a small hill, ten *kos* from Fatḥpūr, a delightful mansion and given it the name of RūshināS.[3] Its environs delight the eye, and the verdure utters the praise of God with the tongue of action. Its air

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the Cossyah hills, for they may have been going towards Bhātī and the kingdom of 'Īsā K. Since writing this I have found a passage in the Iqbālnāma, p. 69, which speaks of the Mugs, who were brought to court in Jahangir's time by Hushang, the son of Islām K., as being like the black Calmucks. This makes me think that the hill-tribe meant by A. F. is the Chīn or Khyīn tribe of the Arakan hill-country. There is only the difference of a dot between Khita and Khyīn, and we have the word كهيين at p. 432 though apparently A. F. has written west instead of east.

[1] The T.A. states under the 28th year that Nūr Muḥammad was the son of Tarkhān Dīwāna, and that he was executed in the market-place (*nalkhlkhās*) of Fatḥpūr.

[2] Bīrbar's house is still shown at Fatḥpūr. See Keene's Agra 64. There does not seem any good reason for thinking it to be his daughter's house.

[3] B. 476. That is "distinguished, celebrated." Tiefenthaler I. 170 mentions a place five leagues S. of

refreshes the brain. He remained three days there, making hunting the veil of Divine worship, and then returned.

Fatḥpūr called Rūbās where Akbar used to go for change of air and for hunting. Perhaps Rūbās and Rūṣḥinās are the same place.

CHAPTER LXX.

The beginning of the 28th Divine year from the Accession, to wit, the year Tīr of the third cycle.

At this time, when Time was carrying through work, the star was guiding, the glory of Divine worship was increasing daily, and justice was being augmented, the ear was rejoiced by the sound of the New Year. Joy showed a new face. The exalter of throne and 398
diadem uttered the summons, and gathered together the assemblage of supplication. Active and magician-like men adorned the State-Hall with every thing that was most excellent so as to surprise even the acute and the critical. On Monday, 26 Ṣafr 991, 10 March 1583, the world-lighting sun shed its rays on Aries, and the joy of Spring began, and the fourth year of the third cycle brought the message of eternal life. Mankind sang songs of rejoicing, and there was variety of happiness. Great festivals went on to the day of exaltation (*sharaf*), and there was a daily market of liberality.

Verse.

The kingdom longed for such an adornment,
At length fortune fulfilled the kingdom's desire.

It needs an enlightened heart and an eloquent tongue, and leisure, to tell somewhat of these feasts and so to enliven my discourse. Where have I—the stammering-tongued and much occupied—the power to undertake such a task ?

Verse.

How is it right that in the dawn of Spring
Flies should buzz in presence of the nightingale ?

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Bengal for the third time. In the previous year the Khān Ā'ẓim M. Koka had been sent from court in order that he might inflict suitable punishment

on the strifemongers of Bihar, and might address himself to the conquest of Bengal. As the rebels of Bihar had received their deserts before the arrival of the victorious army—as has been related—Ṣādiq K. came by relays of horses to court, and as the rainy season was at hand, the enterprise was not accomplished that year. When the tempests and floods of that season had ceased, Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ṣādiq K. S. Ibrāhīm and S. Farīd Bokhārī were dispatched, and strenuous and unabashed *sazāwals* were appointed to the fief-holders of Ilahābās (Allāhābād), Oudh and Bihar. In a short time a large army was collected in Ḥājīpūr, and energies were devoted to the accomplishment of the task. The Khān Ā'ẓim with many brave and loyal men took the route of Garhī. Tarson K., S. Ibrāhīm, Mīr zāda 'Alī K., Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Ḳīcak Khwāja,[1] Subḥān Qūlī Turk, and other heroes crossed the river, and addressed themselves to the conquering of that quarter. On account of the jungle, the numerous ravines, and the mire and water, they could not advance by that route. The armies joined one another near Monghyr. Tarson K., Shāh Qūlī K. Maḥram, Muḥibb 'Ālī K., the Mīrzāda 'Alī K., S. Ibrāhīm, and Rai Patr Dās took post a stage or two beyond Colgong. The rebels prepared for
399 battle in the neighbourhood of Kālīgang[2] (?). Before this, M. Sharfu d-dīn Ḥusain, Bābā K. Qāqshāl and many other strife-mongers had died, and M'aṣūm K. Kābulī was at the head of the rebels. Qutlū Noḥānī was predominant in Orissa, and he had also taken possession of part of Bengal. When M'aṣūm K. heard the sound of the advancing armies, he first addressed himself to Qutlū, and made a league with him to the effect that when the imperial officers arrived, he should join him with a chosen force. When he had been somewhat heartened by this, he hastened off to Ghorāghāt, and made comradeship with Jabbārī, Mīrzā Beg, and the rest of the Qāqshals, and in order to inspire them with confidence he left his family in their quarters. Then he came with a number of rebels to Kālī

[1] Perhaps the word is Gicak, a lute. Can this be the Khwāja Kisik of Gulbadan B.'s Mem. translation, p. 162?

[2] Kātīgang the canal, or river-cutting, appears from the I.O. MSS. to be the correct reading. Probably it is the Khārī or Khītīgang of A. N. III. 300. The Iqbālnāma has Kātīgang. See also Elliot VI. 66 where there is a long piece of translation.

Gang (Kātīgang ?) and applied himself to strengthening the place and to preparations for battle.

On 9 Farwardīn the vanguard of the victorious troops took possession of Garhī, which is the gate of that country. On the 16th the officers met in with the rebels and drew up in battle-array. They established batteries on the bank of the Kātīgang,[1] and the war boats were made ready. As the imperial servants were on the watch for Qutlū, Saiyid 'Abdulla K., Mīrzādā 'Alī K., S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī, Khwāja 'Abdul Ḥai and others together with nearly 4000 horse were sent under the command of Wāzīr K. towards Balkana (?).[2] They lay in wait twelve kos away from the camp. Every day there was an engagement with guns and arrows, and great deeds were done. On account of the idle talk of men of little heart there was a rift in the enterprisingness of the commanders, and great importance was attached to the numbers of the enemy. A request was therefore sent for help. When Sher Beg *tawācī bāshī* who had been sent off post-haste, arrived, the world's lord was much astonished and said, "Though something tells me that the news of victory will soon arrive, yet there is no harm in caution and in granting their request." Accordingly, on the 13th Ardībihisht M. Khān, Zain Khān Koka, Ism'aīl Qulī K., Makhṣūs K., Muṭṭalib K., Rai Sarjan, S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār, Shiroya K., Khiẓr Beg, Mīr Abū-l-Moẓaffar, Mir M'aṣūm of Bhakar and many others were sent off to the eastern provinces, and each was presented with a *khil'at* and a special horse. Before they started the good news of victory arrived, and once more was the mysterious intuition of the world's lord impressed on high and low. To some were eyes, to some collyrium, 400
and to some staffs were given. For nearly a month the armies of fortune confronted the rebels and discharged guns and muskets night and day. On both sides were great deeds performed. And though hopelessness was prevalent, yet the Shāhinshāh's fortune emerged in a wonderful manner. On the 14th the crescent of

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[1] Kālīgang in text, but there is the variant Kātīgang.

[2] بلكنه Balkana (?) in text, but there is a variant Balkasta. A M.S. in my possession has Kalkata quite distinctly, and I observe that in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 528 top line, a ferry called the Calcutta ferry is mentioned as being somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sūtī "opposite the village of Tardīpūr and on the Ganges."

victory illuminated the world, and the rebels, whose star was extinguished, fled to the desert. Every one of the reckless fools fell into confusion.

The short account of this wondrous stroke of fortune is as follows: In the heat of the contest the Qāẓīzāda, who was one of the ringleaders, came from Fatḥābād[1] and brought many well-equipped war-boats with him. Suddenly a cannon-ball reached him, and he was killed. M'aṣūm K. appointed in his room Kālā Pahār, who was singular for his skill in river-fighting. He too was soon reduced to annihilation. Also there arose dissension between M'aṣūm K. and the Qāqshāl clan and Khāldīn. Crapulousness laid hold of the drinkers of the wine of presumption, and they became foolish. Able negotiators set themselves to win men over. Many returned to obedience. First Khāldīn came in and made oaths and agreements. Then M. Beg Qāqshāl, Jabbārī, and others secretly took the oath of good service. It was agreed that they should withdraw from fighting and go to their homes, and that after some days they should come to the camp and become good servants. They acted according as they had said. The presumptuous rebels were thrown into great confusion, and were compelled to fly with saddened hearts. Though the Khān Ā'ẓim endeavoured to pursue them, he was prevented by the foolish talk of some, and the cowardice of most. The rebels withdrew, and when the news of victory came, thanksgivings were offered to God, and the brave men, who had been sent to assist, turned back.

One of the occurrences was that the Qāqshāl officers joined the imperial servants. When M'aṣūm trod the desert of defeat, he hastened off to the homes of the Qāqshāls in order that no harm might happen to his family, and also that he might revenge himself upon them. M. Muḥammad Qāqshāl had out of friendship conveyed his family[2] (?) to a place of safety. The Qāqshāls took up a strong position near Ghorāghāt and prepared for battle. M'aṣūm K. plundered

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[1] A Sarkār in East Bengal, comprising Farīdpūr, etc. See J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 217, and J. II, 132.

[2] The text has بپای اورا, which I do not understand. The I.O. MSS. have بسای اورا "into his protection (?)." From the Iqbālnāma it appears that M. Muḥammad removed M'aṣūm's family to a safe place.

Ghorāghāt and proceeded to attack the Qāqshāls. The Khān ʻĀẓim sent off Muḥibb ʻAlī K., S. Ibrāhīm Fatḥpūrī, Babūi Manklī, Sikandar Cikni (?) and other combatants to the number of about 4000 horse **401** to that place under the command of Tarson K. They arrived when the Qāqshāls were in difficulties, and the rebels fled. The heroes set themselves to pursue them, but turned back in Ghorāghāt. M. Beg, Khaldīn, Wazīr Jamīl and the others adhered to their former promises and made submission. They took upon themselves the task of inflicting retribution upon Mʻaṣūm K. and separated from the victorious army.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of Amīr Fatḥ Ullah Shīrāzī.[1] He was singular for theoretical and practical knowledge. Though he had acquired much in the schools of Khwājah Jamālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Maulānā Kamālu-d dīn Shirwānī and Maulānā Aḥmad Kurd (?), yet his science was greater than theirs. ʻĀdil K. of Bījāpūr had by great efforts brought him from Shīrāz to the Deccan. When ʻĀdil K. died, he, in accordance with an old wish, and a command, proceeded to the holy threshold. On the 25th he attained this blessing. So much learning had he that if the old books of wisdom had disappeared, he could have laid a new foundation (of knowledge), and would not have wished for what had gone. As was right and just, he, with so much enlightenment, desired to become a disciple of the world's lord. By good fortune he gained his desire. He frequently said in the meetings, " If I had not entered the service of this adorner of multiplicity, and chooser of unity, I had not become a traveller on the road of Divine knowledge. His (Akbar's) personality and magnificent nature have made the wine of learning digestible by me. Otherwise the current sciences had been a veil over the face of the search for truth." And it is evident that there are two classes of men. There is he who having been taught in the Divine school has the pure temple of his soul filled with the light of knowledge without the stain of effort. He comes forth in the course of ages, and the form-worshippers of the day seldom recognize him. The other is he who takes pains and who by thousands of strivings acquires some of the knowledge possessed by his predecessors. The general public do not see anything beyond

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[1] See B. 33, n. 1, and Badāyūnī, Lowe, 325 and 381.

him. At the present day, by the good fortune of the age and of mankind, the world's lord is the Primate (*Peshwā*) of the first class. Hail to the brilliant star which gathers eternal bliss by this knowledge and which imparts glory to the record of actions!

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K. to Bengal. When M'aṣūm trod the desert of failure, as has been related, the victorious army proceeded against Qutlū. As the Khān 'Āẓim disliked the climate of that country, he begged for employment elsewhere. The gracious sovereign accepted his earnest request and issued orders that if some officer could undertake the control of
402 the army and the administration of the country for some time, he might make over charge to him, and come to Bihar, and repose in his fief. Otherwise he should wait a little, and Shahbāz K. would soon be sent. On 8th Khurdād the important duty was made over to him (Shahbāz), and he took leave and went off with many officers.

One of the[1] occurrences was that the grand-daughter (*nabīra*) of Māldeo obtained a new life. In the wide country of India, on account of truth-choosing, and jealous honour, when the husband dies, his wife, though she have spent her days in distress, gives herself to the fire with an expanded heart and an open brow. And

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[1] This interesting incident is as usual told by A. F. in a stilted and obscure manner. He does not tell us where the Satī was going to take place, or where Akbar was at the time, and he does not clearly tell us who Jaimal and Udai Singh were. B. 427, 428 may be consulted, and also the Maaṣir II. 110. It appears that Jaimal was the son of Rūpsī who was the nephew of Rajah Bihārī Mal, and consequently a cousin of Rajah Bhagwān Dās. A. F. says that Udai Singh, who wanted to make the widow burn, was *pisar-i-ao*. Blochmann takes this to mean Jaimal's son, and it may be that he was the widow's stepson and not her own son. But grammatically it looks as if the words meant that he was the widow's own son. Elliot VI. 69 calls him Māl Deo's son, but this is clearly wrong. At p. 326, A. F. mentioned that Lonī was the residence of Bihārī Mal's nephews, and perhaps this is the Lonī in Sarkār Rewārī mentioned in J. II. 288, though B. regards Lonī or Lūnī as being near Ranthambor: see p. 398, n. 1. But either place was perhaps too far for Akbar to ride to, and presumably the family was staying in Agra or Fatḥpūr. The news was brought to Akbar's zanāna. Presumably he was there then, but possibly some of the ladies of the Mota Rajah family got the news first. Another daughter of the Mota Rajah, the sister of Jaimal's widow, was married to Jahangir in 994, 1586.

if from wickedness (*tardāmanī*) and love of life she refrain from doing this, her husband's relatives (*kheshāwandān*) assemble and light the flame, whether she be willing or unwilling. They regard this as preserving their honour and reputation. From the time that this ever-vernal country has been kept verdant and fresh by the justice of the world's lord, vigilant and truthful men have been appointed in every city and district in order that the two classes of cases may be continually kept distinct, and that forcible burning may not be permitted.[1]

At this time H.M. had sent Jaimal by relays of horses to the Bengal officers. On account of immoderate expedition, and the excessive heat, the torch of his existence was extinguished in the neighbourhood of Causā. His wife, the daughter of the Mota Rajah (The Fat Rajah), had not the courage to burn herself. Udai Singh her son and some bold and foolish persons set themselves to work this injustice (to make her burn). It was high dawn[2] when the news came to H.M.'s female apartments. The just sovereign fearing that if he sent others there would be delay, mounted a swift horse and went off to the spot. As the circumstances were not known there was confusion for some time. Foolish talkers, and imaginative simpletons, made up wonderful stories of a fight. The loyal and devoted, and the happy warriors, got agitated and assembled in troops. There was a time of confusion and they set about putting on their armour and making ready for battle. The loyal but feeble-minded were at a loss, while the strong and well-disposed galloped off. The two-faced and wicked misunderstood matters and talked unintelligently. The crooked in their ways and the inwardly dark raised a song of triumph. Such had been the rapidity that even

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[1] See the instruction to the Kotwāl or Police officer, J. II. 42: "He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination."

[2] چاشتي بلند بود *cāshtī buland būd.* I am inclined to think that we should read چاشني *cāshnī*, for I find that this word is construed with *buland; cāshnī buland būd* would mean it was high dawn. I think that this the time meant, and not *cāsht*, which would be about 9 a.m. The translation in Elliot VI. 63 makes the disturbance to be caused by the Rajputs, but I do not think this is the meaning. It was Akbar's followers who did not know why he had gone off and who were disturbed and got ready for battle.

the guards had not been able to come up, but some of the personal attendants arrived near the spot. The faction gave up their proceedings in presence of the Shāhinshāh's majesty. When that cavalier of fortune's arena had come near the spot, Jagannāth and Rai Sāl went ahead and seized the ringleader of the ignorant and turbulent ones and brought him to H M. The appreciative sovereign read the writing of repentance on the foreheads of the crew, and in all this ebullition of anger gave them their lives, but imprisoned them. In a short time the prudent prince made use of justice, graciousness,
403 and courage, and brought things into tranquillity. The dust of turbulence was laid and the pæan of joy rose high.

One of the occurrences was the sending of I'timād K. to the government of Gujarat. At the beginning of the conquest of this country, he had been nominated to this high post. From wickedness and perversity he indulged in evil thoughts, and the Shāhinshāh's fortune put chains on his feet and sent him to the school of the prison, as has already been related. From much cupidity he had begged for the government of the province. When the Shāhinshāh treated him with kindness, Mīr Abū Turāb for his own advantage made him more keen in the prosecution of his desire. The truth-seeking Shāhinshāh's idea was that if some goodness should appear in him, and if it was his wish, he should fulfil what he had said. As at this time there was some appearance of this, he proceeded to grant his long-cherished wish. He made over to him the military command and the administration of the province. He adhered to what he had said and ripened his hopes. Though right-thinking and far-seeing persons represented, "When he was in full strength, and had numerous helpers, he was not able to control the factious people of Gujarat. At this day, when his bodily frame is declining, and he has no single-hearted comrades, how can it be proper to dispatch him on this service?" Yet as the decree of heaven had passed, the speech of the wise did not take effect, and he went off in great elation. Mīr Abū Turāb was sent off as Amīn to the country, and Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad was made Bakhshī. Khwāja Abu-l-qāsim became Dīwān. They were accompanied by Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Abu-l-Moẓaffar, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Mīr Muḥibbullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn, Mīr Sāliḥ, Mīr Hāshim, Shāh Beg, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī, Zainu-d-dīn Kambū, Saiyid Jalāl

Bhakharī, Saiyid Abū Isḥaq, Qambar Ishak Āqā, Pahlwān 'Alī Sīstānī and others. Each was exalted by receiving a robe of honour, and a choice means of conveyance (*bāragī*). They also received valuable counsels. They took leave on 7 Tīr, and Karm 'Alī Darogha of the perfumery was sent to bring away Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. The order was that when the new governor came, Shihabu-d-dīn should come with his soldiers to court.[1]

Also at this time Mīr Sharīf Gīlānī came from the Niẓām-ul-mulk together with other ambassadors from the Deccan and did homage and presented gifts. They were received with favour.

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[1] This account of I'timād's appointment should be compared with Abū Turāb's *History of Gujarat* recently published by Dr. Denison Ross.

CHAPTER LXXI.

The Watering of the Garden of Dominion, and the upraising of the Palace of World-rule.

Inasmuch as the dominions are extensive, and the soldiery numerous, as cupidity increases daily, right-thinking diminishing,
404 the courageous and veridical not to be found, the false and flattering plentiful, the wicked contrivers in troops, and the acute and just-thinking scarce (*kh*āl-*kh*āl), there soon comes a great rift in affairs, and evil grows prevalent. Therefore is it that the world's lord every now and then augments his circumspection, and imparts new freshness to the garden of the State. Accordingly at this time, he, from brilliance and foresight and from the quest of truth, erected a new palace of administration. He made over every department to distinguished loyal men who were unavaricious and well-disposed, and he associated the majesty of the Shahinshah with paternal benignity. He made over to Prince Selīm the Divine tasks of severity and lenity, and the superintendence of marriage and birthday feasts—which are sources of stability and ornament of eternal dominion. That pearl of the crown of the sultanate carried out whatever the just sovereign ordained and addressed himself to giving currency to the orders. As colleagues are indispensable, M. *Kh*ān, S. Abū-l-faiẓ Faiẓī and the faithful Fatḥ Ullah were appointed to assist him. The management of the household—which is equal to the administration of a great kingdom—was made over to Prince Sulṭān Murād. Rai Sāl Darbārī, Karm Ullah, *Kh*wāja 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad *Sh*īrīn Qalm, Muḥammad 'Alī *Kh*azāncī served under him. The superintendence of faith and religion and of wisdom and work was committed to Prince Sulṭān Daniel. *Gh*āzī K. Bada*kh*sh*h*ī, Rai Sarjan and the writer of this noble volume were appointed to lay matters before him. First, they (i.e. the officers in charge of the departments) studied the choice regulations which had lighted up the heavenly soul (of Akbar) and had adorned therewith the raw

material of the minds of the simple; and secondly, they guided the bewildered to the highway of Divine worship. Allowances and charities were made over to Sulṭān Khwāja, Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ, Mīr Abū Turāb and to the Qāẓī and the Muftī (law officer). The development of the dominions, and the appointment and dismissal of the officers of the Khālṣa were made over to Rājah Todar Mal, Khwāja Yahiya, Rai Durgā and Yār 'Alī. The charge of the army and the arrangements for the pay of the soldiers were made over to Shahbāz K. J'aafar Beg and 'Alī Dost K. The superintendence of the rates of goods was assigned to Zain K. Koka, Ism'aīl Qulī K., Payinda K. and Hājī Ḥabīb Ullah. The care of the armour and the looking after the roads were made over to Qulīj K., Jagannāth, Lon Karn and Ṣāliḥ 'Āqil. The watching over the property of deceased persons and the conveyance of it to the heirs were made over to Sharīf K., Rajah Askaran, Naqīb K. and 'Abdu-raḥmān the son of Muyīd Beg. The department of buying and selling jewels and other minerals was made over to I'timād K. Gujrātī, Bāqī K., Jagmāl, Ḥakīm Ain-al-mulk, and N'aamat K. The charge of buildings was 405
given to Naurang K., Qāsim K. Makhṣūs K. and Laṭif Khwāja. The administering of justice to complainants was made over to Rajah Bīrbar, Qāsim 'Alī K., Ḥakīm Hamām and Sham Sher K. Kotwāl. The writer of the book of fortune (A. F.) was also appointed to this office. An order was issued that they should not be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but make a profound investigation. The deeds of the one party (the oppressor) were very base, and the condition of the other (the petitioner) very bewildered. On account of the bribery of the oppressor and of his high position, and of the empty-headedness and helplessness of the oppressed, it was necessary that there should be nó slackness in the inquiry, and that the thought of presents (*pāra*) should not turn the heart out of the way, nor that the shafts of injury should lead one to the lane of cowardice, and cause the veiling of the truth. In a short time the outer world attained an excellent management and the spiritual world a new development. There was, as it were, a new palace constructed for the appreciativeness of the sovereign, and humanity was tested in the square of knowledge. The wicked descended into the hollow of ignominy, and the good were exalted. Every great one who makes use of the medicine for senselessness, and chooses, with a thousand

eyes of the heart, watchfulness, will assuredly make Fortune his servant, and the empire of rulers will come under the shade of his justice.

Verse.

Hail! the garden of the two worlds rejoices because of thee,
The foundation of life is firm because of thee.
Solomon had a ring, thou hast faith,
Alexander had his mirror, thou the code,
Alexander with his mirror, Kaikhusrū with his cup,
Have not seen what thou art beholding for many days.

One of the occurrences was that Wazīr K. was victorious and that Qutlū Nohānī (Lohānī) was defeated. When the Divine aid had deprived the rebels of endurance, M'aṣūm K. Kābulī and the other seditious and ill-fated ones took flight, as has already been narrated. Thereupon the Khān Â'ẓim and the other great officers set about finding a remedy for the crafty Qutlū. He by wiles and flatteries brought forward a proposal of peace, and sent eloquent and skilful persons to court, and made use of blandishments. The answer came that if his works corresponded to his words, they should admit him as a servant and restore Orissa to him. At this time the Khān Ā'ẓim's heart was alienated from the country and he was eager to depart. He wished that on the arrival of the order of leave he might hasten off to his estates, and that Ṣādiq K. might in these few days take the command and conclude this great affair (the settlement with Qutlū) to a conclusion. He (Ṣādiq K.) made unsuitable stipulations, and so the Khān Ā'ẓim turned to Wazīr K. He gladly accepted the task, and the Khān Ā'ẓim went off to Ḥājīpūr (where his estates were). Upon his departure, the devious Qutlū in his shortsightedness and narrow capacity uplifted the head
406 of presumption, and made unfitting conditions with regard to the peace. The officers, who had betaken themselves to repose, were somewhat annoyed and marched from Sherpūr[1] in order to give battle to him. On 10 Tīr they encamped at Bardwan. That turbulent one was six *kos* off and had recourse to vulpine tricks. He

[1] Sherpūr 'Aṭāī in Sarkār Sharīfābād, B. 341. The I.O. MSS. have Sherpūr 'Aṭāī.

made use of humility and supplications. They were deceived by him, and added Madāran, Mednīpūr and other places to Orissa. He agreed to take the burden of obedience on his shoulders, and to send his brother's son with choice presents to court. Again he had recourse to rebellious thoughts, and determined that he should by stratagem get one of the leaders into his clutches—perhaps in this way he might gain his object. He represented that he was sending the apple of his eye to court, and asked that Ṣādiq K. should come without a large retinue from the camp, while he too would come out with a few followers so that they might see one another and be materially comforted, and that he might make over to him the cream of his life (his nephew). Ṣādiq K. had the foresight to keep away, and S. Farīd Bakhshī[1] was sent. He from his good intentions and simplicity, went off along with Ḥusain K., Abū-l-Qāsim, 'Abdul Hādī, and Maḥmūd K. Khwāṣ. When he came to the appointed place, there was no trace of Qutlū. As he was continually sending messages of concord, he went on. Some plausible persons brought him to his quarters and he (Qutlū) prepared a feast. From time to time he expressed fresh supplications, but his sole intention was that when the men had gone to their repose he should seize the Shaikh and take him to a remote place, and gain his objects by using him as a hostage. The Shaikh perceived this and at the beginning of the night proceeded to depart. No horse (*bārugī*) had been left in the stable, and when they had gone a little way there was a hot fight for a while, and some men were killed. In the midst

[1] See B. 413, who refers to Stewart's Bengal. Stewart, p. 177, tells the story differently from A.F., but as I think not altogether in accordance with his authorities. What Stewart says is that Farīd did not treat Bahàdur Kurfarah with sufficient respect. But what Niẓāmu-ddīn and Badayūnī—who, I presume, are his authorities—say is that Qutlū received Farīd with respect (herein differing from A.F. who says Qutlū was absent) and acted as if he was his servant, or at least as the servant of Akbar, but that Bahādur wanted to treat Farid on a footing of equality. Bahādur was a Bengal Zamindar, as well as an officer of Qutlū, but Farīd chose to regard him rather as Qutlū's servant than as a landholder, and behaved haughtily to him. See Elliot, V. 429, where the translation is wrong, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 333, where also the translation is not correct. Both should be compared with the originals.

of this the Shaikh came out on his own elephant. By the jugglery of fortune the animal proved unmanageable and rushed off into space. Owing to the darkness of the night his men could not follow him. The Shaikh thought of crossing a stream and so escaping, but was bewildered owing to there being no ford.[1] Suddenly some men came up and shot arrows at him and wounded him. The Shaikh threw himself off the elephant and turned aside. By the guidance of the mysterious arrangers (i.e. protectors) he proceeded on his way. The scoundrels thought that the Shaikh was still in the haudah (*'amārī*) and was trying to escape. While he was going on in this bewildered way a faithful servant joined him and gave him a mount (*bāragī*) and conducted him to the camp. The officers[2] emerged from their heavy slumbers of negligence and attacked that contriver of long plots. They crossed the Damūdar river and went on for two *kos* in battle array. That scoundrel (Qutlū) established[3] forts and firmly planted the foot of audacity.

407 Qutlū and many others took refuge in a fort, and in another place Bahādur Kūruh[4] prepared for battle. In the beginning of Amardād, Ṣādiq K., Shah Qulī K. Maḥram and others advanced to do battle with Bahādur. After a severe struggle they took the fort, and he escaped and joined Qutlū. Next day they attacked his residence, and mounted guns on high places. By the Divine aid the rebels were defeated, and fled in wretched plight. From want of energy and slumbrousness of intent they were not pursued. The imperialists halted on the bank of the river.

On the 2nd that majestic one—whom the spheres cannot counterpoise—was weighed against eight articles, and the feast of the lunar anniversary took place. The needy of the age attained their desires.

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[1] Text *pāi guẕārī*, which may mean "looking for a ford." The I.O. MSS. have *be guẕārī*, "the absence of a ford."

[2] The rest of the paragraph is translated in Elliot, VI. 69.

[3] *Qil'ahā sākhta*. Elliot renders this "entrenched his camp," and perhaps this is right.

[4] Badayūnī, Lowe, 333, seems to call him Bahādur Kur Farah. Elliot, V. 429, calls him Gauriya. The text of the T. A. has کوروه. See above, text, p. 384 and note. Perhaps Badayūni's Kur Farah is a mistake for Kar Farmā. See J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 200.

One of the occurrences was that Burhān-al-mulk took the protection of the sublime court. He was the younger brother of Martaẓa Niẓāmu-l-mulk. When Ḥusain Niẓāmu-l-mulk died, the kingdom came ostensibly into the possession of the elder son,[1] but in reality into that of his mother. She, like the father, loved Burhān most and regarded him as superior to every one else. When the changing heavens had made some circuits, Martaẓa at the instigation of strife-mongers and intriguers arrested his mother and brother and sent each of them to a fortress. From lewdness and ignorance he discarded the pilots[2] of the time and subjected himself for spiritual guidance to a sect. Owing to the rawness of his guide and the severity of the ritual his brain became deranged. He withdrew from intercourse with mankind, and left affairs to a wretch named Ḥusain. This man rose from cock-fighting to become his companion, and owing to ignorance (on the part of Martaẓa) he acquired the title of Āsaf K[3] The sense-robbing world's wine infatuated the weak-handed man. His evil propensities developed and

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1 Ferishta has a long account of him in his history of the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar. See also the Darbārī Akbārī, 688. Martaẓa came to the throne in 972 A.H., 1565, and reigned till 1589. The next sentence is translated in Elliot, "He, like his father before him, preferred Burhān to all his friends," but I think the sentence refers to the mother. She was of Persian origin, and descended from Jahān Shah of the Black Sheep so that she was connected with Bairām K. Her name was Khūnza Humāyūn. Martaẓa was eventually killed by his own son, and Ferishta narrowly escaped death on this occasion.

2 A. F. has surpassed himself in obscurity in this passage. Elliot, VI. 70, renders it "His ignorance and vicious propensities kept him aloof from the loyal and good, and threw him into the company of evil persons whose bad advice quite perverted his mind." The words in text are *nāguẓrān-i-waqt* ناگزران وقت and I. O. MS. 236 has the same. I have supposed *nāguzrān* to be a word formed like *nākhudā* and to mean captains or pilots. I. O. 236 has *nagaẓīran-i-waqt* ناگزیرن وقت which perhaps means "persons who were indispensable to the times." The word *rūḥānī* which I have translated by "spiritual" also means "a howling darwish"; c.f. Ferishta's account of Martaẓa's going to Bālaghāt and assuming a dervish's dress, etc.

3 Āṣaf K. is the name of Solomon's vizier, see B. 368. Ferishta calls Ḥusain Ṣāḥib K., and the T. A. Muṣāḥib K. He was eventually killed by A. F.'s muscular brother-in-law Khudāwand K. Deccānī.

a new foundation was given to self-conceit. The world thought that the days of the recluse were ended. At length that ungrateful and devious one set himself to make the Barīd war (viz. that against the Barīd Shāhs of Bīdar), and the dust of commotion rose high in the neighbourhood of Qandhar.[1] On learning this, the mad-man came out and went rapidly against him. At this time Burhān by the help of the governor of the fortress, came out and proceeded to create a disturbance. The opportunity for rascals came. As his intellect remained in prison, and his fortune was asleep, he fastened his eyes upon men's property, and was active in distressing people. Niẓāmu-l-mulk, on hearing of this, effected a reconciliation (with Ḥusain) and returned and reached Aḥmadnagar on the day that he (Burhān) intended to come. On seeing him the commotion subsided. He said to his companions: "For a long while I have been a recluse, and have been averse to mixing with men. My brother
408 longs for rule. Withdraw from me and join him." They replied. "It is proper that the innings of the base be broken up! When that has been done these matters may be considered. Otherwise few will know the real circumstances, and most will think that your action (in resigning or withdrawing from society) is the result of weakness and ill-health." He rejoiced at this pronouncement and a song of joy was raised on account of the uniting of hearts. He went in conquest of battle with a labour-loving heart and a right courage.

In addition to the fact that Burhān was not a match for Martaẓa in numbers, the right-thinking and truthfulness of his companions prevented matters from coming to a fight. Crowds of men turned back from Burhān, and he without engaging had to tread the desert of failure. For a while he sought asylum with the owner of Bījanagar.[2] He returned without effecting anything. From

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1 Elliot, VI. 70, says, sixty miles N. Bīdar, and at VII. 25 note says 25 miles S. W. Nandar. In the maps there is a Qandahār some 80 miles N. Bīdar, and a long way to the east of Aḥmadnagar. It is on the Manāda, a tributary of the Godavery. Ferishta does not name it, though he speaks of Ṣāḥib K.'s attack on Bīdar. Possibly A. F. has chosen Qandahār on account of its remoteness, it being his rhetorical way of saying that the whole of Bīdar was disturbed. Qandhar is marked as Kandahr in Grant Duff's map. See I. G. XIV. 377.

2 The text has Bījāpūr, but the variant Bījanagar seems preferable,

there he went to ʻÂdil K. in Bījāpūr. When craft and deceit did not avail, he returned to Aḥmadnagar in the attire of a jogī. There he lived in secret, and endeavoured by the help of wicked men to deceive people and to strengthen his party. The veil over his actions was removed. He then went off rapidly to Baglāna, but failing there he went to Quṭbu-d-dīn K. in Nadarbar, and gathered bliss at the sublime court. On the 11th he brightened his forehead by doing homage at the holy threshold. Inasmuch as the raising up of the fallen, and showing kindness to the fatigued is the praiseworthy quality of H.M., he was exalted by various favours. Two years before this, they brought one who called himself Burhān. Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn[2] Ḥusain Ānjū received him and introduced him, and he obtained lofty rank[3] by the kindness of the world's lord. On this occasion the two were confronted, and an investigation held. The shameless one made some long speeches, but was compelled by acuteness to tell the truth and to say, "I am the son of a certain Deccānī who had the title of Ḥakīm-al-mulkī. The mother of Niẓāmu-l-mulk had received me as a son. I was led astray by cupidity and short-sightedness." From fear he ran away, but was caught by searchers on the road to Agra and sent to the school of the prison.

One of the occurrences was the chastisement of ʻArab Bahadūr. His misconduct has been described, and how he failed. After he had become a vagabond in Sambal, he stirred up strife in Bihar. When the Khān ʻĀẓim M. Koka had gone from Bengal to that quarter, some brave men, under the charge of Subḥān Qulī Turk, proceeded to inflict retribution on him. From far-sightedness he himself (the K. ʻĀẓim) went there. There was an engagement between Tirhut and Campāran, and he was again disgraced. From

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as Bījāpūr occurs in the next clause. Ferishta says he went to Burhānpūr.

[1] J. II. 208. A Sarkār of Mālwa. Also written Naẓar-bār, the Nandar-bār in Khandesh of the I.G.

[2] The Iqbālnāma says, Mīr Jamāl had means of knowing, for he was married to the real Burhān's sister. Ferishta confirms this and says her name was Khadīja, and that she was Burhān's full sister.

[3] Badāyunī, Lowe, 334, says he received a *jāgīr* in Oudh. See also Elliot, V. 429. Presumably he is the same pretender as the one mentioned at p. 703 as having been put to death in 1596.

there he went off to Jaunpūr. By H.M.'s orders, Rajah Todar Mal sent his son Gaurdahan to chastise him, and 'Arab entered the hill-country.

Also at this time Ḥājī Ibrahīm Sirhindī was sent to the prison of instruction. For some time, he by effrontery and plausible speeches ranked among the searchers for wisdom. For a time he enjoyed himself as Ṣadr[1] of Gujarat. During that time some persons came and complained of his oppression. When his cupidity and
409 wickedness became evident, and his tyranny became patent, he was sent to the fortress of Ranthambor. The oppressed were heartened. He wished to descend by making a noose. The rope broke and his[2] days came to an end.

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[1] See supra III. 264. He was appointed in 987.

[2] See Darbārī Akbarī, p. 702. and Badayūnī, Lowe, 286 and 322. Badayūnī says he died in 994 (1586).

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE SENDING OF M. KHĀN TO QUELL THE DISTURBANCES IN GUJARĀT.

Who can reckon up the marvels produced by Existence, and who can understand them? The family [1] of contingent beings cannot comprehend them. How then can the children of men do so? But the sage can to some extent trace out the matter. It may be that the strong gale of sedition and the stirring up of the dust of dissension, even in spite of the truth-seeking, and righteousness of the Ruler of the age, have happened in order that the wondrous working of the world's lord's fortune may be impressed on mankind, and that the misery of the disobedient may be made conspicuous. Or it may be in order that the veil may be withdrawn from the actions of those wicked persons who, from the wide tolerance of H.M. and their own deceit, have taken their place among the good and auspicious, and in order that the lamp of perception might be kindled for the infliction of retribution upon them. Or it may be in order that the goodness of those who remain under the veil of obscurity and do not sell their service may be inscribed on the portico of manifestation! For such farseeing designs as these the pleasant land of Gujarat became stained with the dust of uproar. The turmoil of the evil-thoughted took possession of the world. Though the main cause of the sedition was the wickedness of the servants of Shihību-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and of Quṭbu-d-dīn K., yet the neglect and unskilfulness of those two great Amīrs led to their ingratitude. They continually behaved with slackness towards the foolish praters. The garden of loyalty became full of dust, and from negligence they did not bestir themselves to gather together the single-minded, nor did they use intelligence in searching for good men. When the government of that country fell again into the hands of 'I'timād K., those who were slaves [2] of gold separated and withdrew from going to

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[1] Meaning the angels and other created beings.

[2] Meaning the subordinates of Shihāb and Quṭbu-d-dīn.

court, and from the business of the branding. The self-will, and carelessness of 'I'timād K. and the delay in the arrival of assistance increased the evils. The strifemongers on 23 Shahriyūr (about 4th September, 1583) raised up Moẓaffar and prevailed against Aḥmadābād. The ancestors of that low fellow were not known to any one. Men called him Nannū.[1] In former times 'I'timād K. gave him that name and acknowledged him as the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujarātī. He was captured during the first expedition to Gujarat,
410 and for some time was a prisoner in the hands of Karm 'Alī,[2] the *darogha* of the perfumery department. Afterwards he was sent to Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān. When the latter died, he came back to court and Khwājah Shāh Manṣūr the dīwān looked after him. In the 23rd year he escaped, through negligence, and went off to his home (bangāh) and took refuge with the owner of Rājpīplah.[3] Quṭṭbu-d dīn K. led an army against him, and he went off to Jūnagarh and took refuge with the Lonīkāthīs.[4] The officers did not regard him or bring him into notice. At this time, he, by the help of the servants of Shihābu-d-din Aḥmad K, emerged from this corner, and became a trouble. From the time that 'I'timād K. had gone from court, and an order had been issued, summoning Shihābu-d-dīn

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[1] B. 325 calls him Nathū. Cf. J. II. 267. It seems probable that he really was the son of Sultan Maḥmud, and at all events he fought like a man of a good stock. Bayāzīd Biyāt tells us that Moẓaffar had been in his charge at Cunār, and that by Mun'im's orders he sent him to Gaur where he arrived on the very night that Mūn'im died, i.e. 23rd October, 1575. More probably he was taken to Tānda as it was there that Mun'im died.

[2] The M. Aḥmadī, lith. ed., 149, calls him the son of Mihtar Ramẓān. Perhaps he was made his custodian because he was one of those who went to look for him when he was first caught. B. 519.

[3] Text Balīlī, but the variant Rājpīplah is right. See. J. II. 251. Danvers in his history of the Portuguese in India says that Sultan Amodifar, i.e. Moẓaffar, managed to escape by the aid of some women. II. 53.

[4] Perhaps Lonikāthī is here used as the name of a chief as at A. N. III, 424. For the Kāthīs see J. II. 248. Possibly the name refers to their living near the sea and making salt. The M. Sikandarī 373 says Moẓaffar first went to Tarwārī, the ruler of Rajpīplah, and then went to the Lonakāthīs in the village of Kherī. See also M. Aḥmadī, p. 147, which calls the village Gadrī. The Rauẓāt Ṭāhirīn says that Moẓaffar took refuge near the seashore with the Kāthīs who are robbers.

Aḥmad K., the servants of the latter had indulged in evil thoughts. On the 10th he left Aḥmadabad to proceed to court, and next day 'I'timād K. arrived in the city and sat on the masnad of authority. Mīr Ābid, Khalīl Beg, Mīr Yūsuf Beg, Mīram Beg, and some Badakhshīs and Tūrānīs became actively disloyal and went off to Dūlqa.

They had been plotting to kill their master (Shihāb) before the new governor ('I'timād) had arrived. One who was faithful [1] to his salt revealed the secret, and by an unfitting clemency the conspiracy was overlooked (lit. the rubbish was covered—khasposh). Now they renewed their evil design, and set out to join Nannū 'Umr Ḥājī [2] was the kindler of the disturbance, and was the leader of the wretches. This wicked man had for some time been diwan [3] of the Ṣadr at Court, and had been equal to Sharfu-d-dīn in evil conceptions. He acquired some consideration in Gujarat, and when that country was conquered he went to the Deccan. When Shihābu-d-din [4] Aḥmad K. became governor of the province of Gujarat, he on the strength of former acquaintance joined him. The whole talk of the mercenary men was, "To-day our jagirs [5] have gone. Until we reach the capital, and expenses for the meantime be supplied and the business of the branding be settled, it will be difficult to get a mouthful of bread. It is far better that we take the turbulent Nannū by the hand, and that we stir up strife." Though well-wishers and experienced persons represented (to I'timād) that Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad had withdrawn from conciliatory measures and was going to court and that the officers of the auxiliary force had not yet arrived, and that it was proper to restrain him from this journey and to give back the jagirs to him for some days, or to spend some money and quiet the uproar of those dog-fleas, or—before

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[1] Lit. recognition of his salt made one reveal the secret. The Iqbālnama says his name was Jahāngīr.

[2] The I.O. MS. and apparently the variant have 'Umr Ḥājī Sipāh. The Iqbālnāma makes Mīr 'Ābid the ringleader.

[3] Dīwān-i-ṣadārat. The Ṣadr's Diwān?

[4] The Iqbālnāma says that Shihāb's servants were refractory men who had been in the service of the Mīrzās and who had only been kept in order by Shihāb's personal influence.

[5] Perhaps the meaning is that their master's jagirs had gone.

the rebels had matured their preparations—to dispose by activity and alertness of this handful of traitors" : none of the suggestions was accepted. 'I'timād K replied : "The servants of Shihābu-udīn K. have started the disaffection, he can put it down, or will have to answer for it." In a little time the number of the rebels increased, and there were loud reports that Nannū was approaching.
411 Of necessity the first opinion was accepted, but as he (Shihāb) had gone some way, he refused. 'I'timād K. thought that he would go in person, and so shorten the time for delivering messages, and that he would by every possible means bring him back. Though acute persons said that to leave the city during this commotion was to make an easy matter difficult, their advice was not approved. He went off at night with Mīr Abū Turāb and Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. They lost their road and only reached Karī [1] at dawn where they joined Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. After much talk he agreed to return. His wishes were complied with. His fiefs were restored to him, freed [2] from burdens, and two lacs of rupees were given him as a loan.[3] After that most of the day was spent in ratifying the agreements and in pledging oaths (i.e. taking oaths of fidelity from the officers and soldiers). Then Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. set off with his household. At the end of the night Zainu-d-dīn Kambū and Mir M'aṣūm Bhakarī met them, eight kos from Aḥmadabad, and represented that Nannū had joined the rebels, and that he had meditated an attack on Cambay, but that on learning that the city (Aḥmadabad) was undefended he had hastened there, and had prevailed [4] over the city. Pahlwān [5] 'Alī Sīstānī, the city kotwāl, had lost his life, and the property and hononr of the inhabitants were being plundered. At first there was sorrow and bewilderment, and

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1 Gadhī in text, but Karī in I.O. MSS. and in Elliot and J. II. 253. Karī is a pargana in Gujarat, Bayley's Gujarat, p. 11, and is I presume the Kuree of his map, and N. W. Ahmadabad and on the road to Deesa. If it was 20 kos from Aḥmadabad, Elliot V. 430, 'I'timād could not have lost his way very much if he got there by dawn.

2 Perhaps it merely means that they were given back to him.

3 Masā'dat, B. 265.

4 The Mirāt Sikandarī 374 says Mozaffar took the city on Wednesday, 27 Sha'bān, 4th September, 1583.

5 He had been recently appointed. Elliot V. 430.

then they of necessity set themselves to remedy matters. After talking, they resolved on giving battle. On the morning of the 24th [1] they halted at 'Uṣmānpūr on the banks of the Sabarmatī, and slumbered in the sleep of negligence. Though persons of foresight represented that the rebels were scattered throughout the great city, and occupied in plundering, and that they should draw up their forces and attack them, and so quell the disturbance, the officers adopted the easiest course, and did not set themselves to do this. They thought that the old servants of the governor would join on receiving his conciliatory letters, and that the activity of the rebellion would cease. With this idea I'timād K. and Mīr Abū Turāb went off from the camp to the houses of acquaintances, while Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. occupied himself in writing soothing letters. The rebels collected and prepared for battle. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. awoke somewhat from his slumbers and applied himself to arranging his forces. While he was doing so, Muṣtafa Shirwānī came forward with some wicked wretches. Ḥājī Beg Üzbeg, Payinda Muḥammad Sagkash, Ṣāliḥ Qundūzī, Khiẓr Khwāja,[2] and a body of known men to the number of about 500 took the road of faithlessness. The engagement had not taken place when a large number of men forded the rīver below 'Uṣmānpūr and fell upon the camp. Many took shelter with the enemy and some remained with their families, and out of an army of more than 7,000 horse, only a few relatives 412 remained around him (Shihāb). During this confusion one of the servants [3] struck him on his right shoulder with a sword, and his horse was thrown down by a gunshot. He fell to the ground, but some faithful servants raised him up, and gave him a mount. They took him rapidly away from that place of confusion, and, on account of their being busied in plundering, no one pursued him. On the 25th Shihābud-dīn Aḥmad K., I'timād K., Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and some others, to the number of about 300, assembled in Pattan.

[1] 24 Shahriyūr = 5th September, 1583.

[2] Is it possible that this is Gulbadan Begam's husband? I think it is. See *infra*, p. 437, where his younger brother is mentioned. Khiẓr's becoming a rebel may account for Abul-Faẓl not mentioning him in the Ain as a commander.

[3] The Mirāt Aḥmadī, p. 155, gives his name as Ābdu-r-Raḥmān Majhūlī and says he came from behind and struck Shihāb, but that the wound was not serious.

Moẓaffar K. having got his heart's desire in Aḥmadābād took a great name to himself, and became presumptuous and infatuated. He assumed the royal power, and bestowed on the wicked wretches the titles of the Shāhinshāh's officers. 'Ā'bid Badakhshī was made Khān-Khānān; Khalīl Beg, Khān Zamān; Mīrak Yilāq,[1] Atgah K.; Mīrak Beg, Badakhshī; Khān 'Ālam, Qurbān Alī Bihārī,[2] Khān Kalān; Shāh Mīrzā, Naurang K.; Nauroz, Qarāca K.; Muḥammad Amīn Badakhshī, Maqṣūṣ K.; Payinda Muḥammad Sagkash[3] Khān Jahān; Mīr 'Abdullah, 'Āṣaf K, and Mīr Bakhshī; Ṣāliḥ Badakhshī Moẓaffar K., and dīwān; Abu-l-wafā became Afẓal K. and mushrif diwān; Shāṭir Muḥammad, N'aamat K. and Mīr Sāmān. He did not know that unless God's favour be bestowed, and there be choice qualities, the night lamp of greatness does not shine.

Verse.

It needs a sun to burn up the stars.
Night becomes not day by thy lamp.

To assign to small men the titles of great men is to throw oneself along with the former into the abyss of disgrace. Accordingly every one of these soon became the dust of dishonour and failure. They showed levity in talk about officers and pay, and in the wish for fiefs they cast away their honour. Payinda Muḥammad Sagkash and Tahmak[4] lay in wait for one another, and their hostility led to bloodshed. Tahmak forged a letter from him (Payanda) to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and accomplished his object by corrupting his sealer. Moẓaffar without looking into the matter closely, and acting without consideration, consigned him (Payanda) to annihilation. By the cajolery of fate the work of friends was accomplished

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1 بلاق in text but the variant پلاق is the reading of I.O. MSS.

2 Biharāgī بهاراگي in MSS.

3 Dog-killer, presumably it is the name of a Moghul tribe, sagkashi means a killing for which there is no punishment. Payinda has been mentioned already, pp. 21 and 22.

4 Variant Tamak. The Mirāt of Aḥmadī has Samuk سمک and so have the I.O. MSS. Apparently Samak is the same person as Ḥājī 'Umr, for Samak is described as a ringleader and the Rauẓāt Ṭāhirin calls him Ḥājī Samak. Perhaps the sipāh or siyah of variant of text 410, l. 12, is a mistake for سمک.

by enemies. At this same time, Sher K. Fūlādī arrived from Sorath.[1] As Moẓaffar was solicitous about Quṭbu-dīn K., and was continually tampering with his fly-like servants, he left ʻĀbid at Aḥmadabad and went off to that quarter himself, and sent Sher K. Fūlādī and some rascals to Pattan. At the same time Saiyid Daulat,[2] who was one of the choice servants in the eastern part of Gujarat, did not wait to see Moẓaffar, but went off with some vagabonds to Cambay, and proceeded to plunder it. Khwāja ʻImādu-d- **413**
dīn[3] Ḥusain carried off 14 lakhs of rupees from that port, and by his activity conveyed them to the fort at Broach to Quṭbu-d-dīn K. Nearly 40 lakhs of dāms fell into the hands of Saiyid Daulat. He sent a portion of this to that futile one (Moẓaffar), and joined, and became a ringleader.[4]

When these events came to the royal hearing, H.M., whose mind is a mirror showing the future, remarked that the disturbance would soon be quelled, and that the rebels would meet with their deserts. He addressed himself to the composing of the distractions of the country, the soothing of the proprietors, and the punishment of the rebels, and sent a chosen army to that province. On 9 Mihr Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Hāshim, Shīroya K., Rai Durgā, Rai Lon Karan, Mednī Rai, Miyān Bahādur, Darvesh K., Rafī' Sarmadī, S. Kabīr,[5] Naṣīb Turkamān and many other strenuous men were sent off under the command of M. Khān, the son of Bairām K., in order that they might go by a straight road to Gujarāt, and address themselves to the punishment of the evildoers.[6] Qulīj K. and

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[1] Wrongly, Surat in text.

[2] The Mirāt Sikandarī and Mirāt Ahmadī call him a servant of Kalyān Rawad of Cambay. Presumably this is the Kalyān Rai Baqqāl of Badayūnī, Lowe 249.

[3] The father of Ṭāhir, author of the Rauẓāt Ṭāhirīn, Elliot VI. 195.

[4] The text from following the Lucknow edition has سه کروه آمد, "He came three kos," which makes nonsense. The reading of the I.O. MSS. is سرگروه آمد "he became a ringleader." The Mirāt Sikandarī says Moẓaffar rewarded him by giving him the title of Rustam K.

[5] The Iqbālnāma adds, "Who is now, by the Shāhinshāh's favour, styled Shujā'at K." B. 519 says he got the title from Prince Selīm. He was of the Cistī family, and distinguished himself under Jahāngīr.

[6] At the end of the account of M. Khān's deputation, the Iqbālnāma has the statement that Muḥibb ʻAlī, the son of the Mīr Khalīfa, died at this time (991). It says that Akbar excused him from more active service

Naurang K. were sent off to Mālwa that they might obtain the offices of that province, and then join the victorious army. An order was issued to Quṭbu-d-dīn K. to the effect that although from calculation it appeared that he was sufficient for putting down the dust of dissension, yet out of caution a large army had been nominated. If by heaven's decree the spark (of rebellion) could not be extinguished, help would come from the auspicious combatants.

One of the occurrences was the death of Jagmāl[1] and Rai Singh. The former was the brother of Rānā Pratāp, the latter the grandchild of Māldeo. When the first by the guidance of fortune brightened his forehead by doing homage, and was exalted by princely favours, Sirohī and its territory were made over to him in fief. Sulṭān Deorah was powerful in that country. An order was given to 'I'timād K. that when he came to that neighbourhood, he should take vigorous measures, and should make over the country to Jagmāl, and if it was necessary, should leave some experienced fighting men to help him. When he came there, he carried out the orders, and Jagmāl entered Sirohī. The presumptuous one (S. Deorah) retired to the ravines. Rai Singh, Beca, Deorah and men of Jālor were left to help Jagmāl. When the victorious troops marched to Gujarāt, that wayward one renewed his turbulence, and Beca and many Jālorīāns came to the rescue. The wicked man came upon their quarters by secret paths. Those two men (Jagmāl and Rai Singh) awoke out of the sleep of neglect and preserved their honour by bravely sacrificing their lives.

414 On the 25th (Mihr)[2] the feast of Shawwāl was celebrated and the Shahinshāh gave a feast. Magical minstrels administered the medicine of wisdom by the adit of the ear, and various artists did wonderful things. The archery of the strikers of the *qabaq* excited

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on account of his age, and made him governor of Delhi, which appointment he held for a long while and until his death. B., following Niẓāmu-d-din, puts Muḥibb 'Alī's death into 989. The Muḥibb 'Alī who is mentioned later as co-operating with Shahbāz K. is Muḥibb 'Alī Rohtāsī

[1] Elliot V. 430 where Jagmāl is wrongly described as Sultan (or Saltān) Deora's brother. Niẓāmu-d-dīn joined 'I'timād at Jālor and brought with him 1000 *mohars* for Jagmāl's expenses. Rāi Singh was the son of Candar Sen, son of Māldeo.

[2] The 'Īd-al-fitr, celebrated on 1 Shawwāl and which occurred this year (991) on 8th October, 1583.

astonishment, and there was a display of the game of *caugān*. Crowds of men obtained their wishes. Suddenly in the midst of the game Rajah Bīrbar fell from his horse, and became insensible. The world's lord cast the shadow of his kindness over him, and relieved him by his holy breathings. In a short time he returned to his senses, and uttered thanksgivings.

One of the occurrences was the death of Mīr Gesū Khurāsānī. He traced his lineage to the Saiyids (of Khurāsān). For a time he held the office of Bakāwal Beg (steward of the kitchen), and then for a time he was governor of Bhakar. At this time he was Faujdār of Mīrtha and some of the interamnal parganas (between the Ganges and the Jamna). Owing to ignorance of business he was continually having altercations with the base soldiers. The master from cupidity is intent on depriving evil soldiers of part of their pay and the wicked and ungrateful are intent upon getting more than their share. From a bad disposition, he did not expel avarice from his heart,[1] and did not treat them with frankness. At last on the eve of the 24th (Mihr), which was pregnant with the 'Id of Shawāl (8th October, 1583), he in the town of Mīrtha spoke to them in a shameless way and after reproaches turned some of his servants out of his house. At dawn he went to the 'Idgāh in a drunken state. Mūsā Bahlīm (?) one of the set came forward in a humble manner, and Mīr Gesū owing to his intoxicated state put him in prison. At this time Ibrāhīm of Nārnaul came in with some evil disposed persons and M. Gesū lost forbearance and abused him. The unfaithful servant replied with his sword. Some double-faced ones removed him under pretence of making a reconciliation, and some base ones turned their attention to releasing Mūsā. On perceiving this he went to their quarters and set fire to them. The mutineers turned out to fight, and M. Gesū's companions showed cowardice, and the Mīr was killed. Out of wickedness they reduced his body to ashes. When this became known active measures were taken to seize the evildoers. Many were punished, and some absconded. Justice revealed her countenance.

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1 از آزر دل بر میگرفت The text has az āz instead of āz az. For Mīr Gesū's biography see the Maaṣir III. 349. See also Elliot I. 241 for an account of his proceedings in Sind. There is an account of his son Jalālu-dīn Masa'ūd's death in Tūzuk J. 67, pp 141-42 of translation.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

March of the Royal Standards to Ilahābād (Allahabad).

In every work the Shahīnshāh brings various distinctions into action, and whether in repose or in marching displays great ideas. He weighs profit and loss in the balance of foresight. For a long
415 time his desire was to found a great city in the town of Piyāg,[1] where the rivers Ganges and Jamna join, and which is regarded by the people of India with much reverence, and which is a place of pilgrimage for the ascetics of that country, and to build a choice fort there. His idea was to establish himself there for a time and to reduce to obedience the recalcitrant ones of that country, and to introduce peace down to the ocean. He thought that when he had laid the foundation of this city of fortune, he would go by boat to the eastern districts and root out the thorns of rebellion from that country. Should peace be produced there by the reverberation of the august expedition, he would proceed to the Deccan, and take possession of that country which was longing for a just ruler. Should the wide country of India be civilized by means of obedient vassals he would proceed to Turan, and he would put to rights M. Ḥakīm who, on account of the companionship of flatterers and shortsighted persons, did not sit at the board of good service, and who indulged

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[1] Cf. J. II. 158. The translator has inserted an *r*, spelling the word as Priyāg, and this is in accordance with the Sanskrit, but in the Ain text the spelling is given, and there is no *r*. It is stated in the I. G. (old edition) that Allahabad was founded in 1575, and there is a similar statement in the Darbārī Akbarī (though probably 981 is a slip for 991), but it appears from this chapter that the city and fort were not founded till 2nd Āẕar 991, i.e. about the middle of November 1583. There is a good account of Allahabad in the Ḥadīqa-al-iqalim, p. 663 of lith. ed., and there it is said that Akbar called the place Ilahābad and that Shah Jahān changed the name to Allahabad. (The name given in the T. A. and the Iqbālnāma is Ilahabad or Ilahabagh). The author of the Ḥadīqa says, he saw a paper of Akbar's time which gave the cost of the building of the fort, etc., and the amount stated was two krors and some lakhs

in foolish replies. He would also guide aright M. Sulaimān and Shahrukh M., who were stirring up strife with one another in Badakhshān, and would get possession of the land of his ancestors. In this way the various classes of mankind would experience the joys of concord.

With these far-reaching thoughts he on 5 Ābān (about the middle of October) set out from Fatḥpūr. As his intention was to proceed to the eastern provinces, he in accordance [1] with the rules of the experienced men of India, went off on a lofty elephant and travelled 3½ kos (a day).

On the 12th, near the village of Baraulī, the river-houses (the boats) were glorified by his advent. Some of the special courtiers had the bliss of attending him, while the main camp went by land. There were more than 300 boats for the passengers and the baggage. On the 17th they cast anchor opposite the town of Etawah. Zain Khān Koka had a delightful residence and garden there, and begged for the royal visit. H.M. granted his request, and stayed there a while. On the 22nd he came near Kālpī. Muṭṭalib K., the *tiyūldār* (fief-holder) of that place, arranged a splendid feast on the bank of the Jamna and got high honour by H.M.'s presence. Next day he arrived near Akbarpūr at the residence of Rajah Bīr Bar. By going to his house he gratified a long-standing wish of his (Bīr Bar's). Then he went on, hunting and dispensing justice, stage by stage. Mankind rejoiced. On the 1st Āẕar he reached the wished-for spot, and next day in an auspicious hour he laid the foundation of the city, and planned [2] out four forts. In each he arranged for lordly residences. The beginning (of the city) was the place where the rivers joined. In the first (fort) he fixed that there were to be twelve buildings.[3] In every one there were delightful apartments. There

[1] There is no word for "daily," but I think *darnawardīdand* must mean that the journey was continuous and that Akbar marched 3½ *kos* daily till he came to Baraulī and the boats. The T. A. and Badayūnī describe him as starting by boat from Agra, but apparently he joined the boats lower down on the Jumna.

[2] *Bīrang* in text, but the I.O. MSS. have *sarang*. *Birang* seems right for *bīrangzadan* means "to sketch out."

[3] I.O. 236 has *sarābūstān* instead of the *manzil* of text, and the Darbarī Akbarī, p. 123, says there were twelve gardens.

was a garden which was the special private chamber of the Shāhin-shāh. In the second there was a place for the Begams and the Princes. In the third there were to be residences for the distant rela-
416 tives and for the personal attendants. The fourth was for the soldiers and subjects. The engineers produced master-pieces, and in a short time the first (fort) was admirably completed. Every one had a place suitable to his rank. In a short time a great city was established.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the litter of Miriam-makānī. She had been unable, for various reasons, to come at the beginning. At this time she set out on the camel of joy, and afterwards proceeded by water along with many Begams and other ladies. H.M. paid his respects in a new manner. An assemblage of joy was arranged, and the rose-garden of the Caliphate was refreshed by recognition of dignities.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

Victory of Shahbāz K. and the vagabondage of M'āsūm K. Kabulī.

It has been mentioned that after the defeat of the rebels, a body of the victorious troops proceeded towards Orissa and had halted on the bank of the Damodar, and that some great men had gone to Ghorāghāt and been the means of delivering the Qāqshāls. When some time had elapsed, M'aṣūm K. had come from the country of Bhātī with many strife-mongers and proceeded to make war on M. Beg Qāqṣhāl. The latter had gone to Tājpūr [1] and taken protection with Tarson K.[2] He (Māsūm) had the effrontery to send some men to ravage that country. Tarsūn K. shut himself up in a fort, and the rebels plundered to within seven *kos* of Tānda. There was a great commotion. When Shahbāz K. heard of this, he made wisdom the precursor of courage, and set about punishing the rebels. He sent off some men in swift boats in order to turn him back, and he himself marched out with troops from Patna, and proceeded by land. He soon arrived at the scene of disturbance, and produced tranquillity. The presumptuous retreated. M'aṣūm, who had arrived near the Jamna,[3] remained where he was. He (Shahbāz) wrote from Tānda to the officers who were connected with Orissa, to the effect that "Qutlū had not the strength to engage in battle with the imperialists, and it was better that some should come to this quarter." Accordingly, Wazīr K., S. Ibrāhīm, S. Farīd Baḳhshī, Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Pahār K. Mīrzāda 'Alī K., Bābūī Mankālī, Ḥasan K., Shāh Qāsim Badaḳhshī, Haidar Dost, Mīr Abu-l-ghaiṣ, S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī,

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[1] B. 342 says Tājpūr is in Dinajpūr.

[2] B. 342. There was a Sarkār Tājpūr in Bengal, I. II, 135. Cf. Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 109. He states that there is no town of Tājpūr now.

[3] The Jamna seems to preserve its name after the junction with the Ganges at Allahabad. Cf. A. N. II. 255, l. 5, and my note 15. Cf. Jarrett, II. 120, who quotes Wilford as saying that the waters of the three rivers do not mix.

Jalālu-d-dīn Ma'saūd, Kamālu-d-dīn, Ḥusain Sīstānī, Kīcak Khwāja, Sikandar Caknī, Abā Bikr, and others took upon themselves the task of putting down Qutlū, while Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ṣādiq K., Muḥibb 'Alī K., Rajah Gopal,[1] Khangār,[2] the sons[3] of Saiyid Muḥammad Mīr 'Ādil and others proceeded to help Shahbāz K. Shahbāz K.
417 crossed the Ganges and proceeded rapidly to chastise the rebels. By the Divine aid 3,000 artillerymen[4] from among the servants of Shāh Bardī, who had died about this time, came from Bhātī and entered into service, and brought the news of victory. Afterwards Tarsūn K. and M. Beg Qāqshāl joined. At this time the news came that an army of ill-fated ones had proceeded under the command of Bābāī Bhakarī towards the town of Santos,[5] and that the servants of Tarsūn K. had fled. Shāhbāz K. set himself to remedy matters and sent off Muḥibb 'Ali K. Qāsim K. Taimur Badakhshī and Selīm K., and afterwards sent on himself. The enemy fled on hearing the noise of the advance-force, and much booty fell into the hands of the soldiers. From there they marched 18 *kos* through a difficult country in order to do battle with M'aṣūm K. and halted on the bank of the Jamna. M'aṣūm took refuge on the other side but prepared for battle. Shahbāz sent a letter to advise and guided him towards obedience. He recounted to him the worthy qualities of the Shāhinshāh and abused him for his falling away. He gave him many salutary counsels and mingled threats and encouragements. During those twenty-four hours messages were sent three times, and choice replies expressive of contrition were received. Next day[6] the officers (of Akbar) arranged an assemblage and he

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[1] B. 502 and 532. The Iqbālnāma adds the word Jādon, which completes the identification.

[2] Perhaps Kāngār, the nephew of Bihāri Mal, B. 436.

[3] The Iqbālnāma gives their names, Mīr Abu-l-m'aālī and Mīr Abu Qásim.

[4] Probably these were Portuguese, but the numbers seem large.

[5] The I.O. MSS. have Santosh. It was in Bārbakābād Sarkār and is mentioned in the Ain under the corrupt form of Sīkh Shahr. It lies in South Dīnājpūr. See Mr. Beames' interesting note about Santosh or Mahī Santosh in R.A.S.J. for 1896, 116. It was on the Atrāī. Santosh is mentioned in the T. Nāṣirī, Raverty, 576, and n. 4.

[6] The passage about Shahbāz's operations is translated in Elliot VI. 71-72, but it is difficult, and the translator has evaded one thorny place by not translating the part about the negotiations. I am not sure of the

(M'aṣūm) crossed two-thirds (*dobakhsh*) of the river and arrived within a javelin cast of the shore. He accepted the proposition to render loyal service, and a treaty was drawn up and sealed by the heads of the army. It was settled that on the following day he would make his apologies for the past and that there would be a feast of unity. Some persons who were lovers of strife increased his fears by secret letters, and rehearsed to him the downfall[1] of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī. As his fortune was somnolent he could not distinguish between counsel and fraud. He wrote, describing the circumstances,[2] and made excuses. Shahbāz K. got indignant, and behaved improperly to friends and to strangers A mist of discord arose and occasioned arrogance among the rebels. The warriors who sought for battle crossed the river amid a shower of bullets and arrows, and engaged in fight. There was a hot engagement. By the marvels of daily-increasing fortune the rebels took to flight on 4th Āẕar (about 15th November, 1583) and the sound of victory spread far and near. During the crisis the royal fleet did not arrive, but Narain, the landholder (*būmī*), and Murād Qāqshāl, brought up their own boats and rendered assistance. Muḥibb 'Alī K. and Selīm K. Sirmūr[3] and some other brave men went rapidly in pursuit of M'aṣūm. M. Muḥammad Dastam and some ill-fated ones turned round and fought. On hearing of this, Shahbāz K. hastened

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meaning, but I think that *do bakhsh* must here refer to the two-thirds of the river, and not to two channels, as seems to be the case at Ain text I. 388, last three lines—J. II. 120. I think too that the officers "*umarā*" must be Shahbāz and his officers, and that it was M'aṣūm who crossed over two-thirds of the river and came within bow-shot, or javelin cast. The word is *gazāndāzī*. Cf. the use of gazāndāz at A.N. III. 137, three lines from foot.

[1] It is not surprising that the fate of M'aṣūm Farankhūdī should have frightened him. The text has a curious omission here. The I.O. MSS. etc. have the words *dāstān quruqcī* after *bīm afzūdand*; *quruqcī* is a Turkish word and means a sentinel over the women's apartments. Perhaps the phrase is—travellers' tales, the idle tales told by sentinels. The Lucknow ed. says that *quruqcī* means a fool, and so *dāstān quruqcī* would mean foolish tales.

[2] I am not sure of the meaning, but I suppose M'āṣūm wrote to Shahbāz, and referred to the assassination of M'āṣūm Farānkhūdī and to the warnings he had received.

[3] B. 436 also called Selīm K. Kākar.

to the spot and arrived just when the first detachment was in difficulties. A great engagement took place, and many rebels fell headlong into the pit of annihilation. Qarā[1] Naqdī was taken prisoner,
418 and the rebels were properly defeated, and went off with blistered feet to the desert of failure. They escaped owing to the darkness of the night. The elephant Har Pershād and many others were captured. M. Beg Qāqshāl, Sangrām and Dalpat did good service. Next morning the victorious army crossed streams and miry places and arrived near Ghorāghāt. A portion of that city was[2] plundered. M'aṣūm K. took refuge in Bhātī with some followers. Jabbārī and some followers went to the country of Koc (Cooch Behar). Every one of the crew went to some corner or other. Shahbāz hastened to Sherpūr,[3] which was the home of many of them. Next day he arrived there and some of their families were captured, and much booty was obtained. Nearly 150 noted men were made prisoners. The news was brought to Ilahabad, and many thanksgivings were paid, and there was a fresh daily market for service (i.e. service was rewarded).

One of the occurrences was that Ṣādiq K. separated himself (from Shahbāz). On the first day that the officers joined, an elephant of Ṣādiq K. ran, on the march, at Shahbāz K. and nearly killed him. Though he was not hurt in his body, yet vexation abode in his heart, and from that day there was an interruption of friendship, and a display of hostility. He behaved himself improperly. He changed from the favour he had shown (to Ṣādiq) and became highly displeased with him When Shāhbāz was going to Bhātī, Ṣādiq separated himself in order to pay his respects to the holy threshold.

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1 Or Qarā Baghdī. The translator in Elliot has read the name as Farānkhūdī and so has represented that Māṣūm Farankhūdī was made prisoner, whereas he had been assassinated at Fatḥpūr a year before this.

2 Bari Ghorāghāt on the Karatoya in South East Dināgpūr. Beames in R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 126. Tiefenthaler I. 448 mentions Ghorāghāt as the residence of a military commander, and as a populous and well-kept town. He says it is 25 *kos* from Rājganj.

3 The I.O. MSS. add Murca, which enables us to identify this Sherpūr as that in Bograh. B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 221, and I.G. XXII, 273. It is not the Maimansing Sherpūr.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of Sher K. Fulādī. When the delightful country of Gujarāt became filled with the dust of dissension, as has been related, Shihābu-d-dīn K. 'Itimād K. Niẓāmu-d-din Aḥmad Bakhshī and some other officers assembled in Pattan. They were nearly going to Jālor, and retiring from the country altogether. At this juncture, Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Abu-l-qāsim, Mīr Abū-l-moẓaffar, Bunyād Beg, Fīrūz, Mīr Muḥibb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Bulind K. Khwājaserā, Saiyid Abū Isaḥaq and others to the number of 1500 auxiliaries arrived. And 1000 men left the enemy and joined Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., and 700 horse joined I'timād K. But the newly-arrived slaves of money were empty-handed and made complaints. They opened the booths of wish and spoke foolishly. I'timād K., who had gained experience from previous events, gave them money, and made them zealous for service so that the thoughts of going away left their minds. Meanwhile Rawaliya Khāṣ-Khel (belonging to the clan of) of Sher K. (Fulādī?) stirred up strife in the town of Jūtāna. Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, who was in the neighbourhood, mingled skill with valour; and by the might of daily-increasing fortune obtained a victory. On hearing of this Sher K. sent 419
Ḥusain his son-in-law with a large force. Beg Muḥammad did not see it proper to fight, and retreated. The imperial servants appointed S. Muḥammad Husaīn, Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Mīr Abū-l-moẓaffar, Saiyid Muḥibb Ullah and some other experienced soldiers to assist him. The foe gave way, and Beg Muḥammad followed them up, and a hot engagement took place. After the manner of Rajputs he got off his horse, and fought in a determined manner. He was nearly slain when Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad arrived with some brave men, and the enemy was disconcerted. Daily-increasing fortune displayed her face, and the imperial servants decked out the assemblage of joy. Then Sher K. turned his face to do battle, accompanied by many scoundrels. The army expressed its wishes and complained of being empty-handed. I'timād K. was obliged to do something to relieve them. He and Shihābu-d dīn Aḥmad K. stayed to look after their households (*bangāh-dārī*), and the rest of the men went off to fight under the command of Sher K., the son of I'timād. In the centre were Sher K., Rādhan K., Pahār K., and others. Muḥammad Ḥusain

Shaikh, Mīr Ṣāliḥ, and others were in the right wing, Khwāja Abū-l-qāsim diwān, Bunyād Beg, M. K. Nīshāpūrī, Saiyid Abu-Isahaq, and Ḥājī Sambal were in the left wing. Mīr Abū-l-moẓaffar, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Mīr Muḥibb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn Fīruz, Sūr Dās, and Saiyid Muṣṭafā were in the vanguard. Khwāja Niẓamu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Mīr M'aṣūmbhakkarī, and Aṭal Ghakkar were in the reserve. On 27 Ābān the battle took place near Miyāna 18 *kos*[1] from Pattan. The left wing of the imperialists was shaken, but Ḥusain K. the leader of the enemy's right wing (Sher K.'s son-in-law) was killed by Maqṣūd Āqā. The left wing of the enemy fell upon the reserve, but was repulsed. The enemy's centre departed to the desert of failure without fighting. By the Divine aid a victory was obtained, and a large amount of booty was obtained. Many wicked men were killed. The opinion[2] of the experienced was that they should at one gallop proceed to Aḥmadābād, and make a difficult work easy, but the words of the foolish babblers prevailed, and there was a want of singleness of heart. The news of victory reached Allahabad and the servants were rewarded.

420 One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K. Koka and Rajah Bīrbar to bring in Rajah Rām Cand. He is the ruler of Pannah[3] and famed throughout India. He represented himself as one of the obedient and sent his eldest son to do service, but from short-sightedness did not come himself to court, giving as an excuse the length of the journey. Now that Allahabad was glorified by the Shāhinshāh's advent, there remained no room for the former excuse. An order was issued that an army should march to awaken this somnolent dweller in ravines. At this time his son represented by means of well-intentioned courtiers that his father's omission to come was not due to arrogance and disobedience. Owing to his living in a fortress, and to his not mixing with the world he was subject to timidity. If one or two of the known men of the court were dispatched to him, assuredly he would pluck up courage and come. Inasmuch as the Shāhinshāh considers the sword as the last remedy to be employed against refractoriness, the representation

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1 The T.A. says 15 *kos*.

2 Cf. Elliot V. 433. Niẓāmu-d-dīn strongly recommended this course. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 340.

3 Patna in text. Patlah in I.O. MS. B. 406, and Badayūnī, Lowe 435.

was accepted, and on the 24th the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah were sent off, to give protection to this savage and to bring him in.

One of the occurrences was the suppression of the disturbance of Jabbārī. It has been mentioned that Shahbāz K. and other officers went off to Bhātī, while Wazīr K. and others prepared for war in the direction of Orissa. The intervening country remained empty of troops. Meanwhile Jabbārī came from Koc to Ghorāghāt, and turbulent men gathered round him. He took Tājpūr from Selīm K. Sirmūr's[1] people, and Purniah from the relations of Tarsūn K. From thence he proceeded to Tānda. Ḥasan 'Alī Kotwal of the city was lying ill, and S. Allah Bakhsh the Ṣadr was agitated. From want of courage he was getting confused. Suddenly S. Farīd arrived, and produced tranquillity. He was returning, disgusted, from the army of Orissa to court, and by the royal orders he returned. When he came there, Jabbārī withdrew. The Shaikh hastened to Tājpūr and encouraged the men there, and the agents of the officers got possession of the fiefs.

At this time it was brought to H. M.'s notice that in the rainy season the Ganges was very violent, and injured many people. H.M. laid the foundation of an embankment one *kos* long, forty yards wide and fourteen cubits high. This was a protection to the people and a help to cultivation. As prices were high on account of the dryness of the year, the means of subsistence of many people came to an end.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of the Khān 'Āẕim. He had been living in Ḥājīpūr since he left Bengal He came to Allahabad on the arrival of H.M. and did homage on 4 Dai, and was exalted by various favours. Farīdūn Birlās, Ḥakīm **421** Moẕaffar, Khwājah Muqīm and many others did homage along with him. Also, during this time, S'aīd K. came from Sambhal and did homage, and received princely favours.

[1] He was an Afghan. See B. 436.

CHAPTER LXXV.

March of H.M. to Fatḥpūr the Capital.

It was H.M.'s intention that when the affairs of the eastern districts had been excellently arranged, he would proceed towards the Deccan, and introduce order there. Suddenly the rebellion in the province of Gujarāt made a great noise and he turned some of his attention towards it. It appeared to him that he should go to the capital and march from there. At the beginning of the disturbance it was the opinion of small and great that when M. Khān got there and was joined by Quṭbu-d-dīn K., the dust of dissension would be easily laid. Now came the news of Quṭbu-d-dīn's death, and of dissensions among those who had been sent. H.M. set before himself the punishment of the wicked, and the composing of the distractions of the country. The brief account of the events—which were so pregnant with Divine aids and the marvels of daily-increasing fortune—is that when the ingrates and the turbulent had filled that pleasant land with the dust of strife, Quṭbu-d-dīn K. from ignorance and conceit did not set matters right. Whilst the officers in Pattan were representing, "To-day the crooked and worthless fellows are busy[1] about their jagirs and appointments, and there is no order among them. The proper thing is to march quickly and skilfully against them. In this way the success of the rebels would cease, and a difficult task would be made easy,"—he (Quṭbu-d-dīn) was slow in moving and was not doing good work. He made some objections about the soldiers' want of equipments and he also spoke about waiting for the troops from Mālwa. Meanwhile the disorder increased, and until a censure came from court, he

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1 The officers were referring to Mozaffar's distributing fiefs and appointments among his officers. They urged that their minds were taken up about these matters and so they were unprepared and could be successfully attacked.

did not wake from the sleep of neglect, or take steps to remedy matters. He sent out troops in advance,[1] but those active men (the

[1] This is an obscure passage, and it strikes me that A.F. must have left something out when revising his draft. What it refers to is explained by the Mirāt Sikandarī, the Mirāt Aḥmadī and the T.A. The first two say, pp. 377 and 157, that when Moẓaffar set out from Aḥmadabad to encounter Quṭbu-d-dīn, Saiyid Daulat marched from Cambay with 4000 horse to join him and did so at Naryād. When Quṭbu-d-dīn heard of Saiyid Daulat's march, he sent Muḥammad Afẓāl and Mīrak Muḥammad with 1000 (the M. Sikandarī says, with 3000) horse to intercept him, and to prevent them (Daulat and Moẓaffar) from crossing the Mahindrī. They were to take possession of the ferries. They reached there, but they were in collusion with the enemy. So, when Moẓaffar came to the ferry, Quṭbu-d-dīn's men only showed a little fight and then ran away. Moẓaffar then marched on to Baroda and Quṭbu-d-dīn came out to fight him and was defeated. In the battle at the Mahindrī Quṭbu-d-dīn was not present. The Mirāts go on to say that Quṭbu-d-dīn resisted Moẓaffar for twenty-one or twenty-two days and displayed superhuman valour. He only yielded on account of the treachery of Carkas K. Rūmī and Muḥammad Mīrak. On the other hand, Niẓāmu-d-din, Elliot V. 432, speaks of Quṭbu d-dīn's having fought in an unsoldier-like manner (*nāsipahāna*). This statement must refer to the second battle, for, as we have seen, Quṭbu-d-dīn was not present at the engagement on the Mahindrī. The Mahindrī would have to be crossed by Moẓaffar when coming from Aḥmadābad to Baroda. Narīād, where he and Saiyid Daulat met, is about half-way between these two towns.

The M. Sikandarī gives some useful Ḥijra dates. It was on Wednesday, 27 Sh'abān 991, 5 September 1583, that Moẓaffar entered Aḥmadabad. On 17 Ẕī-l-q'ada or 22 November 1583 he left it for Baroda By this time Quṭbu-d-dīn had come to Baroda, having been brought there, or having come there with Zainu-d-dīn Kambū, a relative of Shahbāz K., who had been sent from Pattan by Shihābu-d-dīn and 'Itimād to urge him to advance. According to the M. Sikandarī 374, Quṭbu-d-dīn was then not in Broach but in Sulṭānpūr or in Nadarbār. "Sultanpur lies about twenty miles north of the Tapti, Nandarbār nearly the same distance south of it. Elliot V. 434 n." At Sulṭānpur Quṭbu-d-dīn was about as near Baroda as Broach. The T.A. Elliot V. 434 says that the Mālwa force was at those two places (Sultanpūr and Nandarbār) when Moẓaffar was at Broach. It is certainly strange that, as Badayūnī, Lowe 341, remarks, Naurang did not advance to help his parent.

The story of the treachery of Carkas Rūm and Muḥammad Mīrak is told in detail in both the M'irāts. See also Noer's Akbar, translation. II. 81.

rebels) crossed the river Mahindrī and fought a battle near the town of Sarnāl, and the soldiers suffered a shameful defeat there.

From presumption and self-conceit he, on 8 Aban, about 15 October 1583, came out of the fort without putting Broach into a proper state of defence, and without conciliating the mercenary soldiers. Although right-thinking and acute persons represented that it was wrong to treat a great disturbance lightly, and to disregard the army, and that what was absolutely necessary for the times was to make presents to the offended and the loud talkers, and to labour to close their mouths and to win hearts, yet, as his fate was overturned, the words of wisdom did not enter his
422 ears. Accordingly, on 25 Ābān, about 2 November 1583, Moẓaffar approached with a large force. The armies were drawn up on both sides, but meanwhile Carkas K. and Mīrak Afẓāl, and many others, joined the enemy. Quṭbu-d-dīn and some of his clan (khāṣ khelān) made their way to the walls of Baroda.[1] Next day the haughty rebels invested the city (Baroda). Just then the news came of the defeat of Sher K., and Moẓaffar was nearly abandoning the siege and proceeding thither (to Maisana). He feared lest the victorious troops should prevail against Aḥmadābād. When he heard that they had gone back, he gave up the idea and became bolder in besieging the city. Quṭbu-d-dīn K. from worship of wealth (*khwāsta-parastī*), and love of life, had not the courage to sacrifice himself. He took into his head the idea of a peace. He sent Zainu-d-dīn and Saiyid Jalāl to express his wishes, and asked to be allowed to proceed to the Ḥijāz with his accumulations. As he was turned away from perception, he did not understand that the accumulation of wealth is for the protection of honour, and that life is only precious when consistent with honour. The rule of soldiering is to play away manfully unstable life in the service of one's master, and to acquire by such valour eternal life and sempiternal glory. Apparently the night of destruction was growing increasingly dark, and guiding wisdom was in heavy slumber. Moẓaffar was seized by arrogance on receiving this message. He had the first (Zainu-d-dīn) trodden under the feet of an elephant. To the other life was

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[1] The text has not the word Baroda. I adopt the variant which gives it, and this is supported by the I.O. MSS.

granted at the intercession of relatives.[1] It was time that Quṭbu-d-dīn should have been aroused, but love of existence only increased his somnolence. He took the treaty into his hands with much[2] fawning. On 13 Āẕar, H., 23rd November, 1584, he adorned himself and came before that wretch, and accepted eternal disgrace. Moẓaffar made some inquiries after his health and then made him over to the executioners. The star of his life set. Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'aūd his sister's son was also put to death. Afterwards the fort of Broach was invested. Khwāja[3] 'Imādu-d-dīn Ḥusain and some others were admitted to quarter. The Kotwāl took the road of disloyalty and delivered up the keys of the fort. On the 19th (Āẕar) the fort was taken possession of without a contest. The Cambay treasure and the abundant wealth of the governor were plundered. Moẓaffar thought in his avarice of becoming a son-in-law. The wise mother[4] poisoned her child. The thorn of failure entered the foot of his desire. He made a practice of oppressing the people, and of pillaging the traders. The vogue of impropriety (*nāshanāsāī*) became great.

On hearing this news H.M. held before himself the resolution to send an expedition to Gujarāt. The countries of Garha-Raisīn were given in fief to the Khān Ā'ẓim. On the 29th, he obtained leave to go to Ḥājīpūr in order that he might collect equipments and 423
come to court. S'aīd K. was made an officer of the 3000 grade, and Ḥājīpūr and its neighbourhood were given to him in fief. He took

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[1] The M. Aḥmadī says that Saiyid Jalāl was spared at the instance of Saiyid Aḥmad Bokhārī. Badayūnī, Lowe 340, says Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ the Ṣadr was also spared.

[2] Text, firmān, which does not make sense. The I.O. MSS. show that farāwan "abundant" is the true reading.

[3] The Krorī of Cambay and father of the author of the Rauẓāt Ṭāhirīn. Cf. Elliot V. 433. He had brought the Cambay treasure to Broach.

[4] Quṭbu-d-dīn's wife. The M'irāts do not mention this circumstance but the Iqbālnāma does.

[5] In Bhopāl. The variant Garha and Raisīn is preferable to the text. See *infra* 436 six lines from foot. Garha is Garha-Katanga which was east of Raisīn. The latter at that time belonged to Mālwa. Apparently Garha-Katanga must have been taken away from Bāqī K., the elder brother of Adham, for he did not die till the following year. See *infra* 436.

leave on that day after receiving valuable counsels. On 10 Bahman, 20 January, 1585, H.M. proceeded, under the guidance of fortune to the capital (Fathpûr).

CHAPTER LXXVI.

Wondrous Fortune of the Shahinshah and the Defeat of Sulṭan Moẓaffar Gujrātī.

(This Chapter begins with twelve lines of reflections about Akbar's Fortune.)

As the soldiers of Gujarāt had joined Moẓaffar, and he had collected abundant wealth, the officers of Pattan thought of leaving the country and coming to Jālor. At this time, M. Khān arrived with a large force and produced tranquillity. He delayed[1] for a while to collect the officers, and he was also stayed somewhat by the foolish talk of ignorant people. Near Mīrtha, Khwajagī[2] Ṭāhir came to him from the officers of Pattan and told him what had occurred. M. Khān wisely suppressed what had happened to Quṭbu-d-din K., and sought for victory from the brightness of his star. On 20 Dai,[3] about 31st December, 1583, the army halted at Pattan. The soldiers there were incorporated, and there was rejoicing and a council was held. Some foolish propositions were brought forward. Some said that they should remain where they were until the Mālwa troops arrived. Some said that to march before the world's lord should advance towards that quarter would be to transgress the 424 rules of farsightedness. Some thought that the only thing to do was to march on quickly in reliance on the daily-increasing fortune

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[1] The delay was on the way to Pattan, and apparently at Jālor. Niẓāmu-d-dīn tells us M. Khān only stayed one day in Pattan. Elliot V. 434.

[2] This circumstance is mentioned by Ṭāhir in his book. He says, in the account of Akbar's 28th year, that Shihāb and 'I'timād wrote a report of what had occurred and sent it with him from Pattan, and he travelled with great rapidity and delivered it to M. Khān at Mīrtha near (east of) Ajmīr in the course of seven days.

[3] The M'irāts do not give the date. M. Khān reached Aḥmadābad, which was 90 miles from Pattan, on 6 Muḥarram 992, 9 January, 1584. As M. K. stayed a day in Pattan he must have left on 1st or 2nd of January.

without regard to external arrangements. What occasion was there for equipments? There were plenty of brave and capable men. These uttered many heartening words. By the guidance of the star, and glory of Fortune, all agreed to this view, and resolutions of acting in unity were taken. They left 'Itimād K. in Pattan and went forth to do battle. They marched under the leadership of the Divine aid. The centre was made glorious by the loyalty of M. Khān, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., Jān Darvesh K., Sulṭān Rāhtor, Mīr Moẓaffar, Abū-l-faṭh, M. Qulī Moghal. S. Muḥammad Moghal, Qarā[1] Baḥrī and a number of experienced combatants were also there. Shīroya K. Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Abū-l-qāsim Bunyād Beg, Fīrūza, Mīr Hāshim, Mīr Ṣāliḥ and others were on the right wing. The Mota Rājah, Rai Durgā, Tulsi Dās Jādūn,[2] Bīcā Deora, Rai Narain Dās, the Zamindār of Īdar, and others were appointed to the left wing. In the vanguard were Payinda K. Moghal, Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Hāshim, Rai Lonkaran, Rám Cand, Udai[3] Singh, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid Shah Ālī, Saiyid Naṣr Ullah, Saiyid Karm Ullah and many others. In the *altamsh* were Mednī Rai, Rām Sāh, Rajah Mukatman,[4] Khwāja Raf'ī, Mukammal Beg Sarmadī, Naṣīb Turkaman, Daulat[5] K. Lodī, Saiyid K. Kararānī, S. Walī, S. Zain, Khiẓr Āqā and others. In the reserve were Khwāja[6] Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, Mīr Abū Moẓaffar, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Mīr Ḥabīb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn, Hāth Bilūc and others. Mīān[7] Bahādur Uzbeg and other smart men were the scouts. In each body of troops there were swift, mountain-like elephants.

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1 This name is not in text, but occurs in the I.O. MSS.

2 The conjunction in text before the name Jādūn seems wrong, and does not occur in the I.O. MSS.

3 Presumably the man who wanted to force his mother or stepmother to become a satī.

4 B. 488. He was a Bhadauria. See Maaṣir Umarā II. 228.

5 See Noer's Akbar II. 86, n. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 379. Badayūnī calls Daulat the reasoning soul of the Khān-Khānān. He was an Afghan. He was collaterally descended from the Daulat K. of Bābur's time, and the father of the famous Khān Jahān Lodī. See Tūzuk J. 42, etc.

6 The historian. He was married to M. Khān's sister. Badayūnī, text I. 333, Lowe 342.

7 Perhaps Sān Bahādur is the more correct reading. In one place it is Biyān.

On hearing of this, Moẓaffar came to Aḥmadābad with a large force, and drew up in battle-array. He himself was in the centre. Sher K. Fūlādī commanded the right wing. In the left was Lonīh Kāthī, aud in the vanguard Ṣaliḥ Badakhshī. They chose the cross-ing at 'Uṣmānpūr [1] as the battlefield, and they arranged their guns and other firearms in a proper manner.

Inasmuch as well-intentioned fabrications [2] have a good effect, a *firmān* from the court of the Caliphate was manufactured, and 425
was received with honours. The gist of it was: "In a certain auspi-cious hour we shall come out to assist the victorious troops and shall advance on a red (*gulgūn*) world-traversing steed as if for the purpose of hunting; until we arrive, do not be hasty to engage." A joyful banquet was arranged and the drums of joy beat high. The agitated took heart and the presumptuous enemy was terrified. The imperial servants, thinking that the Mālwa troops would arrive, and that the enemy's battlefield would be abandoned, and the news of the coming of Akbar might be impressed on the hearts of the troops, moved away from confronting the foe and proceeded towards Sarkec.[3] They arrived there on 6 Bahman [4] and chose a battle-field. On one side they abutted on the city, [5] and on the other on the river. They strengthened that delightful place by making a barricade.[6] Moẓaffar made a hasty move and came to that quarter

[1] The M. Aḥmadī 159 says Moẓaffar encamped near Usmānpur on the other side of the Sabarmatī at a distance of one kos from the city. M. Sikandarī says this was on Monday 9 Muḥarram, 12 January, 1584.

[2] *Sākhtagīhāī maṣalaḥat-āmīz.* Cf. *darogh* maṣalaḥat-amīz in first story of Gulistan.

[3] J. II. 241. It is famed for the architecture of the tombs there.

[4] The M. Sikandarī 378 says M. K. encamped near Sarkec on Wednesday 11th Muḥarram, 14th January, 1584, and that Moẓaffar also moved out and came from Maḥmudnagar and crossed the river and encamped near the tomb of Shāh Bhīkan. This agrees with the T.A. Elliot V. 434, which says that M. Khān encamped at Sarkej, 3 *kos* (it is about 5 miles) from Aḥmadabad, and that Moẓaffar pitched his camp opposite the Imperial army, two *kos* distant, near the tomb of Shāh Bhīkan (son of Shāh Alam and grandson of Qutb Alam. The battle took place on Friday, 13th Muḥarram, 992, 16th January, 1548. Elliot V. 434 wrongly has 16th Muḥarram.

[5] Though the word city is used, it appears from the M. Ahmadi that Sarkec is meant. It lies S. W. Aḥmadabad.

[6] *Shākhbandī karda.* The word is not in the dictionary, but according

A party of misguided rebels made a night attack, but failed and had to return. At dawn the army prudently strengthened the barricade by erecting an earthen wall. The impious enemy hastened [1] to draw up his forces for fear that the royal standards should shed their rays, or the Mālwa army arrive. Though the leaders (of the imperialists) were not disposed to engage, partly because they were looking for the coming of the Mālwa officers and partly because most of the day was spent, yet they of necessity addressed themselves to fighting. As there was a rumour that Moẓaffar would appear from the rear with some men, while another army was in front, Rai Durgā hastened off in that direction with a portion of the reserve. The other troops pressed forward in the manner that had been arranged. On the way there was a great ravine, and there was much sand. The vanguard turned back somewhat in crossing, but the *altamsh* (reserve of the vanguard) pushed forward and encouraged the vanguard. When they emerged from these straits there was for a time a hot engagement.

Verse.

There rose a cry from the mass [2] of two armies,
The noise of resurrection reached the sky,
You'd say the earth split in two,
Isrāfīl blew the trump of the resurrection.

Saiyid Ḥāshim [3] lost a brief life and gained eternal glory. Before this he had stated that he dreamt that eighteen lancets had pierced him, and that much blood had flowed. The strange thing was that he took his last sleep after eighteen wounds! Khiẓr [4]

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to the Lucknow ed. it means a barricade of stone or wood, etc.

[1] It appears from the M. Aḥmadī that Moẓaffar, who had previously been separated from M. Khān by the river Sabarmatī, now crossed it, i.e., he came to the Sarkee side, i.e. to the right or west bank of the Sabarmatī, Aḥmadābad being on the left or east side.

[2] Qalb, centre of army and also body, so that there is a play on the double-meaning. Isrāfīl is the angel of the Resurrection. It is Sirāfīl in the verse.

[3] He was a Bārha Saiyid and younger brother of Saiyid Qāsim, M. Sikandarī, 379.

[4] The Khān's vakil. The Rauẓāt Ṭāhirīn calls him Khiẓr Beg Turkaman. He was killed.

Āqā also displayed good service. The combatants on both sides clashed together and died bravely. The flames of war flashed on both sides. The heroes of the vanguard and the *altamsh* separately engaged in hand-to-hand combats, and each company of brave men engaged with a company of the enemy. M. Khān with 300 warriors and 100 elephants kept his eye on the marvels of daily-increasing fortune. Moẓaffar with 6 or 7000 men came in front of him and was behaving insolently. Short-sighted well-wishers seized the **426** Khān's rein and sought to turn him back, but that forerider of loyalty planted more firmly the foot of courage. He snatched the reins from the hand of those who recognized not Fortune, and took the path of battle. He brought on the rank-breaking elephants, and the elephant Shermār and others distinguished themselves. Before they reached the foe, the latter lost firmness. The breeze of victory refreshed the standards. Rai Durgā went in that direction and inspired fear into the enemy's right wing. This man and that man were saying "the world's lord is coming with a rush." The enemy became confused and fled without fighting. Moẓaffar, who had been haughty, went to the desert of failure in a wretched condition. He hastened by the route of M'amūrābād[1] towards the Mahindrī. Everybody of the enemy's troops fled, and many lost their honour, for some, blood was mixed with dust. The work of slaying went on till the end of the day. The fortune of the Shāhinshāh had her face brightened. Yet the victorious army consisted only of 10,000 troopers, while on the other side there were nearly 40,000 troopers and 100,000 infantry!

Verse.

A very few soldiers in the day of battle
Prevailed over numerous foes,
For in war victory comes from fortune,
Not from wealth and many soldiers.

On account of the much warring, and the day's being spent, the fugitives were not followed. The army encamped on the field of victory, and returned thanks to God. Next morning at dawn there

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1 Not marked in map. Badayunī, Lowe, 344, says it is on the Mahindri.

was a joyous festival in Aḥmadabad. In every street and lane there was the sound of joy. On the 25th Bahmān (about 8th February) the couriers of rejoicing brought the news (to Akbar) in the neighbourhood of Kora Khatampūr),[1] and told the wondrous work of Fortune. The world's lord gave thanks to God. The sovereign's knowledge of mysteries was again impressed on the minds of all. The simple, whose luck was good, renewed the joy of devotion (to Akbar). Next day Zain K. Kokaltāsh did homage. Rajah Rām[2] Chand had come out of his fort and was proceeding to the court. The Koka preferred his request. On the 30th H.M. encamped near Etāwah, and at the request of the Kokaltāsh he halted for a while under the trees of that town—which is a delightful spot. Next day at time of marching he dismissed the Koka in order that he might give the landowner the news of favour and bring him with him. On 4 Isfandārmaz, 14 February 1548, the standards of the Shadow of God cast
427 their rays over Fatḥpūr, the capital, and crowds of men attained to joy. There was a new assemblage for truth-seeking, and new rules were inaugurated for appreciation. Success seized far and near, and the good tidings of eternal dominion quickened the hearing of mortals.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Rām Chand came and did homage at the holy threshold. When the envoys came to him and recited to him the tale of majesty, and imparted great counsels to him and in an excellent manner inspired him with hopes and fears, he, from his good fortune and auspiciousness cast out from his head long-standing arrogance. On the 12th (Isfandārmaz) he was exalted by the prostration, and he produced presents for the inspection of H.M. Of these, 120 elephants[3] were accepted in order

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[1] Evidently this is the Korarah (Corah) and Ghātampūr of the Ain J. II. 167, and which are there given as two places in Sarkār Korarah. It is the Karra of the I.G., 42 m. N.W. Allahabad.

[2] This is Rām Chand Baghelah. B. 406. He was Rajah of Bhath which is another name for Panna in Bandalkand, Central India. Bīrbar was according to Badayūnī formerly the Rajah's servant.

[3] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 345, who says "120 rubies." Perhaps *fīl* is a mistake for l'al. One hundred and twenty elephants seems a large number for Rām Chand. Yet he was famed for his liberality, and his country was celebrated both for elephants and rubies. Badayūnī

to gratify him, and also a ruby of great value. His territory and fort were returned to him, and his dignity was increased by great gifts. Among them was a present of 101 horses.

One of the occurrences was the death of Muḥammad Zamān. He was the cousin [1] of M. Yūsuf K. From the turbulence of youth, and the talk of shortsighted avaricious men he led an army against the Jālīyā,[2] who is one of the great landowners of Mālwa. He had recourse to supplications and sent presents, and ratified the promise of doing good service. From cupidity and inexperience Muḥammad Zamān suppressed the new treaty and hastened to the town of Mahrīya [3] and opened the hand of plunder. After this he plundered Deogarha. Hearing that the road of Surat [4] was shorter he, from irreflection, went off in that direction. He met with defiles which were difficult to traverse. He halted with a few men, and passed on his army and baggage. From somnolence of intellect he sate down to a drinking-bout. The landowner had his opportunity and came there, and M. Zamān's days were ended. Whoever takes the road of disobedience, and does not listen to the voice of well-wishers and does not stick to what he has said, will soon come to an end of this kind, and will fall into various misfortunes.

says one ruby was worth 50,000 rupees.

1 The T. A. calls him brother (barādar) of M. Yūsuf. B. 533. He was a commander of 1000.

2 This seems to be the name of a district, and to be the Jetgarh or Jetha of J. II. 200 in the Sarkār of Garha (wrongly printed as Kanauj in J. II. 199), and province of Mālwa. The Iqbālnāma apparently has "the Rajah of Jaithā." The T. A. mentions that M. Zamān was killed in Garha, the Garhākota of I.G. XII. 161, and now in the Saugor district.

3 This is a mistake for Hararīya or Hariyā which is the form in I.O. MS. 236. Hararīya and Deogarh are mentioned in J. II. 200 as two estates. Harariya appears as Harai in the I.G. old ed. See also Deogarh id. iv. 202. Both places are in the Chhindwāra district.

4 Sic in text. But the true reading seems to be *yūrat* "encampment."

CHAPTER LXXVII.

The disgrace of Sulṭān Moẓaffar a second time.

The hearts of majestic rulers and just throne occupants, whose speech and action as well as the pure temple of their souls are illuminated by the glory of truth, are cups[1] which display the world. Especially is this the case with our world's lord, whom, on account of his right intentions, good deeds, ample intellect and wide toleration, the illustrious ones of the spiritual world as well as the chosen ones of the outer world serve with gladness. Whatever he desires is, as it were, the interpretation of destiny, and things which do not show themselves to the vision of the acute, easily come into existence for
428 him. The circumstances of this turbulent evildoer are a fresh proof of this, and are a charm to awake the somnolent. After that burnt-out star had taken the road of flight, and the[2] departure of the Shāhinshāh had enlightened mankind, he could have been seized if a little pursuit had occurred, and that thorn would have been pulled up from the root. But in the joy of victory they did not attend to this, and the foolish talk of the wicked and crooked in their ways was an additional obstacle. After the lapse of one[3] day, Qulīj K.,

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[1] Alluding to the cup, or mirror of Jamshīd.

[2] *Guẓārish*. I suppose this refers to Akbar's leaving Allahabad, but it may also refer to the myth of his coming to Gujarat. It may also refer to his statement or prophecy that the war would be over soon. The word *guẓārish* occurs in the sense of utterance a little lower down, p. 428, l. 13.

[3] It would seem that this statement is wrong if A.F. means that the Mālwa army arrived at Aḥmadabād. As far as I can gather it did not come there at all at this time. The author of the Mirāt Sikandarī was with the Mālwa army and his statement is therefore entitled to more credit than either A.F.'s or Niẓām-ud-din's. He says, p. 379, and so does his copyist the author of the Mirāt Aḥmadī, that the Mālwa army under Qulīj K. and others reached Baroda in the morning after the victory at Sarkhej. When they got the news they stayed where they were, and then Naurang and Zāhīd,

Sharīf K., Naurang K., Tūlak K. and others arrived, and there was an active discussion. Meanwhile that wretch righted himself by the might of gold-scattering. He went to Cambay and seized much property from the traders. The slaves of gold gathered round him, and the peasantry, thinking him to be the child of their former Sulṭāns, showed him loyalty. The assemblage of men, and the drawing rein by the victorious army, made more courageous him who had lost heart, and he renewed the war. He gave out that the foot of his courage had slipt, at the report of the coming of the august retinue. The imperial servants, on account of the soldiers' complaining that they were destitute, and of the foolish talk of ignorant cowards, did not set their face to fighting, and begged for the august advent. They were too pressing in their wishes and became unduly apprehensive. The world's lord heartened them by excellent counsels. He said that the strifemonger would soon be reduced to ashes, and that the imperial army would be successful. No long time elapsed before the dust of turbulence was laid, and the Shāhinshāh's knowledge of secrets became impressed on mankind. The officers got courage and took up again the idea of fighting. Many were of opinion that all should unite and endeavour to drive away Moẓaffar. But some thought that as the first army had endured hardships it might now repose, and that Qulīj K., Naurang K. and the Mālwa army might apply themselves to this work, and that M. Khān and the other strenuous ones might go to Ahmadabad and exert themselves in civilizing the country. At[1] last they agreed to act together,

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the son of Sharīf, made a rapid expedition against Broach. They hoped to take the fort at once but failed, and so they sate down before it. M. K. left Aḥmadabadfor Cambay on 2 Ṣafar, 4 Feb. 1584, and he wrote to Qulīj K. and the others who were besieging Broach to leave that place and join him in attacking Cambay. They marched accordingly "after 15 days" and joined him Bārīca (?) 7 kos from Aḥmadabad. When Moẓaffar heard of the junction he left Cambay and went to Baroda, and from there went to the hill-country. This is a different story from Niẓāmu-d-dīn's who speaks, Elliot V. 435, of the Mālwa troops coming to Aḥmadabad three days after the victory. This must be wrong, especially as it is evident that when the seat of war had been shifted to Cambay there was no occasion for the Mālwa army coming to Aḥmadābād.

[1] Perhaps this is also part of what some advised, viz. that they should afterwards act together and put down

and addressed themselves to the putting down of Mozaffar. They went on one or two stages, and then proceeded to spend their time. M. Khān, relying on the fortune of the Shāhinshāh, could not bring himself to remain (behind) and left Saiyid Qāsim, who was wounded, Muḥammad Ḥusain S., Shādmān, Khwāja Abu-l-qāsim dīwān and others with 2000 men to protect the city, and he and the other officers joined the army that had gone on, and proceeded to Cambay which was the seat of Mozaffar's turbulence. The latter sent Saiyid Daulat with some troops towards Dūlqa, and the sons of Ikhtiyar-al-mulk, and Muṣṭafā Shīrwānī to M'amūrābād, and prepared in his presumption and shortsightedness, for war. When the victorious troops had reached the distance of ten kos (from him), Mozaffar lost courage
429 and went off to the town of Bāshad[1], which is the residence of Acal Harpār[2], landowner. The imperial troops went on to Baroda. Tūlak K. was sent off to punish Saiyid Daulat and to return. The rest of the army addressed themselves to the chastisement of Mozaffar. On 19 Isfandārmaz (about 1 March 1584) they came to heights and valleys. They traversed difficult routes and had some fighting with a large body of rebels. By the Divine aid they gained the victory, but on account of the excessive heat they did not pursue them. Mozaffar crossed the Narbadda and withdraw to the town of Nadot.[3] From there he went to the Koh-i-Cāmpa (?)[4] That is a village sixty kos from Aḥmadābād. The world is eloquent about its strength.

Mozaffar, but that meanwhile they should only march one or two stages.

1 The text has sabad سبد, but the variant Bāshad is supported by the I.O. MSS. and by the Basad of the T. A. Elliot, V. 435, where it is said to be on the Mahindrī and near Patlād (Pitlād, and the Petlād of I. G.). See also the note in Elliot which says the maps show a Wassud on N. bank Mahindrī. After all it appears that Vāso is the real name. See I. G. XXIV. 300. It is the Basso of Tiefenthaler I. 379, who describes it as 20 m. from Petlad. The سبد sabad of text is evidently a mistake for بسو Baso.

2 The Iqbalnāmā has Aḥal Barmār. Apparently the last word should be Parmār, which is the name of a tribe and is a variant on Bib. Ind. text. See J. II. 242.

3 The Nāndod of I.G., capital of Rājpīpla.

4 Jahānīya جهانيه in text. Variant Cānpa. I cannot identify it. Perhaps it is the Jubboogaun of the maps. The Mirāt Sikandarī has Kohistān-i-Jhānpa. Jubboogaun appears to be the Jamāngāon of J. II.

There are lofty hills E., W. and N. of it. S. is the river Taptī.[1] When the imperialists encamped at Nādot, a council of war was held. Every one gave his opinion according to the extent of his wisdom, about advancing, or halting, or returning. The first idea was adopted, and the foolish talkers were put to silence. At this time came Tūlak *Fīrūzmand*, and those acquainted with secrets took an augury of victory. Also at this time the death of Simak[2] produced joy. Whoever from an evil fate turns away from the dominion which is conjoined with eternity soon has the dust of failure poured upon his head by the celestial managers, and is sent down to annihilation. This wretch was the source of the disturbance, and had few equals in wickedness. When the noise of the approach of the world-conquering troops came near, Moẓaffar left Naṣīrā,[3] Carkas, and that wretch (Simak) in Broach. Inasmuch as the double-faced and ten-hearted adorn the lips with the words of friendship, but have not internal knowledge thereof, he was continually sending letters of concord to Payanda K. Moghul. Some of these fell into Naṣīra's hands, and he was lying in wait to kill him. He played a trick and represented himself as ill. The evildoer came to sympathize with him, and was put to death. Three hundred Tūrānīs, who were his comrades, accompanied him to the abyss of annihilation. The defeat of Saiyid Daulat was also a joyful news. When Tūlak[4] K. had turned him out he returned and again took possession of Cambay, and turned his attention to plundering Petlād. Khwājam Bardī the *thānadār* fought with him, and was victorious. At this time Atālīq Bahādur fled. During this campaign this shameless Uzbeg left the enemy and joined the imperialists. Miyān[5] Bahādur represented his loyalty

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254 and the Djamongāon of Tiefenthaler I. 372.

[1] From I.O. MS. 235 it appears possible that a tributary of the Taptī is meant.

[2] As I have already said, I think this must be the 'Umr Ḥājī of p. 410. It is Lamak in text, the variant is Shimak.

[3] The M. Sikandarī calls him N'aṣīr K. The T.A. Elliot V. 434 calls him Moẓaffar's brother's son, whilst Badayūnī, Lowe 342, 344 calls him "his wife's brother (*khusurpūra*, father-in-law's son). This is more likely, for Moẓaffar presumably had no brother. The M. Sikandarī speaks of a son of Moẓaffar.

[4] Elliot V. 433 has Naurang, but this seems a mistake in the MS.

[5] Apparently Sān is the proper reading. See Elliot V. 436.

and took him into his charge. Both of them from wickedness and crooked thoughts spoke idle words and confused simple men. One
430 day, when the camp came to Nādot, that wicked tyrant (qābūcī, lit. *janitor*) went off with some men on a roadless road (i.e. were put to death). The other was sent to prison, and the vogue of folly was destroyed. There came eagerness for battle.[1] M. Khān, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and others were in the centre. Sharīf K. Naurang K. and others adorned the right wing. Qulīj K., Tūlak K. and the *jāgīrdārs* of Mālwa were in the left wing. Payinda K., Rai Durgā and others were in the vanguard. Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī and others were in the reserve. On the 29th (about 10 March) they marched from Nādot. Moẓaffar was terrified and went off to a high hill. Many audacions men came forward and prepared for battle. The imperial left wing made a fine attack, and several times each side repulsed the other. The brave on both sides contended on foot. During this contest, a party of brave men belonging to the right wing got to the top of a high hill, and by cannon and musketry disconcerted the presumptuous foe. Then the reserve attacked them. Then the brave men who were alongside of the imperial left wing made a general attack. Many of the enemy were killed, but most of them fled, covered with dust and blood.

Verse.

The hearts were arrows,[2] and the brains cleft,
Their clothes were bloody, and their steps [3] dust.

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1 This is the battle described at length by Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 436. He is represented there as saying that he drove back the enemy *for a good kos*; but according to the Lucknow lith., and a MS. in my possession, what he says is that he fought with Moẓaffar's infantry and drove them to a high hill (*koh* not karoh). He describes himself as having been sent on in front, and as having taken the chief part in the action. A.F. however puts him in the reserve, and says nothing about his being sent forward (though I have no doubt that this is true), and the M. Sikandarī, which also describes the battle, p. 379, says that as the Mālwa army had had no share in the first battle, it took the chief part in this (as indeed A.F.'s account of the arrangement of the forces indicates). It gives as the site of the battle the hill country of Jhāmpa, in the district of Rājpīpla.

2 That is, were pierced by arrows: see Lucknow ed. note. Or perhaps it means their hearts were bloodless, their brains split. *Khadang* is the white poplar, and also the bow and arrow made of it.

3 Possibly kām is the true reading,

One, with cuirass on breast, had his head laid low by the mace,
Another fell on his head with the dagger in his hand.

The leader of the rebels lost heart, and took to flight. When things came to a hand-to-hand fight the rebels vainly strove. As the daily-increasing fortune was in the ascendant they lost the power of struggling, and they were disgraced and took the road of failure. The brave men hastened to hunt for lives, and, in a short time, nearly 2000 persons were killed. Five hundred were made prisoners and went to their last sleep. The enlightened Khedive offered fresh thanksgiving for this great victory, and he exalted the loyal servants by various favours. M. Khān was raised to the rank of a *panchazāri* (5000) and got the title of Khān-Khānān. In him good intentions were allied with skill, and wide capacity went shoulder to shoulder with benevolence and so fortune unveiled her face to him, and made him the executant of good deeds.

At the time when the news of the Gujarat disturbances arrived, H.M. inquired from Amīr Fatḥ Ullah of Shīrāz—who was an astronomer acquainted with the[1] minutest details of the science—about the circumstances of friend and foe, and about the final result The Mīr made researches in the heavens, and reported that it appeared that in this year two battles would be fought, and that the imperial servants would be victorious. As he reported, so did it turn out, and there was a fresh currency of the recognition (of Akbar's and Fatḥ Ullah's merits). 431

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and the meaning would be: "Their desires were dust." I.O. MS. 236 has khāk in the first line, and cāk in the second, and this perhaps makes better sense. The brains were dust, and desires (kām) or feet) gām) were split.

[1] I.O. MS. 236 has a *yā* after akhtar-shināsī, as if the meaning were that Fatḥ Ullah was not only a compendium of astrology but of all philosophy.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Beginning of the 29th Divine Year, to wit, the year Amardād of the third cycle.

In this commencement of fortune there arrived the New Year with fresh achievements of Fortune conjoined with eternity, and another joy was imparted to the new generation of mankind. The leafless ones of creation had a novel glory.

Verse.

You complained of the coming of leaf-shedding Bahman.
Look up and behold the garden for Bahman [1] is in flight.
Hark to the thunder, verily 'tis the sound of the tabor.
The world holds a bridal, and the garden comes in bridal dress.

The imperial artificers gave profound attention to the adornment of the palace, and made the preparations for the festival in an excellent manner. The feast of joy was prepared on 25 Isfandārmaẕ in the garden which had been made by H.H. Miriam-Makānī four *kos* from Fatḥpūr. Many secluded ladies were received in that pleasure-house. When four minutes of the night of Wednesday, 8 Rabī'-al-awwal 992, 10 or 11 March 1584, had passed, the world-illuminating sun bestowed a fresh glory on the Sign of Aries, and the rosy hue of uniformity decked the face of day and night (the equinox). The fifth year of the third cycle began, and the world had new splendour. Also on this day the Khān 'Ā'aẓim M. Koka arrived from Ḥājīpūr and did homage, and increased the joy. On the 15th (Farwardīn) there was a great feast in the special garden (Bāgh Khāṣa) and crowds of men attained their desires. From the time of entry (of the sun) to that of exaltation (19 Farwardīn) there was a great festival every day, and the Shāhinshāh gratified the wishes of high and low. In the beginning

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[1] The 11th month of the Persian Year corresponding to 15 January—15 February.

of this year the Divine Era was introduced, and produced joy among mankind, as has already been related.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of M. Beg Qāqshāl and other men from Bengal. When it had been conquered for the third time, M. Beg, Wazīr Jamīl, Khāldīn, Farrukh Īrghalīq and others took the road of loyalty by the help of skilful and right-thinking men. They were however always alarmed and confused on account 432
of their own bad conduct. When Shahbāz K. was victorious, and Ṣādiq K. was proceeding to court, the persons above mentioned joined him. They regarded this opportunity as a boon. When news of this was received, Mohan Dās was sent by relays of horses to turn back Ṣādiq K. and to send him to the army of Wazīr K. who was confronting Qutlū. He was also to make the Qāqshāls hopeful of princely favours, and to bring them to court. That swift messenger joined them in Tānda. Ṣādiq K. obeyed the orders and went off in that direction (i.e. to Wazir K.). In order to soothe the apprehensive Qāqshāls, his eldest son Zāhid was sent along with them. They arrived at this time and reaped bliss by doing homage. The Shāhinshāh exalted them by various favours, and joy seized thousands whose hopes had been broken.

One of the occurrences was the death of Tarsūn [1] K. When Shahbāz K. had defeated M'aṣūm K., he went off to the country of Bhātī, and did not heed the typhoon-like violence of the rivers. His idea was to test 'Īsā [2] K. the ruler of that country, who was always expressing his loyalty. If he delivered up M'aṣūm K. and the other rebels, his lips and his heart would accord. Otherwise the veil over his conduct would be removed, and his wickedness would have its retribution. Bhātī [3] is a low country and has received this name

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[1] M'aaṣir I. 471.

[2] See ante pp. 257, 260.

[3] The word Bhātī is spelt letter by letter in the text. Cf. J. II. 116, B. 342 and J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 226. In Serishtadar Grant's Analysis of the revenues of Bengal, etc., p. 257 of Fifth Report, there is the passage: "The low marshy lands of Hejellee, anciently called Batty, as being in a great part subject to the overflowing of the tide, parganas 16." Further down on the same page he says, speaking of Boklah (Bāqla) or Ismaelpoor, that it extends laterally, eastward of Khaleefatabad in Jessore, and extends to the mouth of the Ganges, near the island of Rabnabad "which forms the S.-E. angle of the Bengal Delta, as also the further

because Bengal is higher. It is nearly 400 kos in length from east to west and about 300 kos from north to south. East of this country are the ocean and the country of Ḥabṣha (?).[1] West is the hill-country where are the houses of the Kahīn (?)[2] tribe. South is Tānda.

extremity of the lowlands of Bhatty, commencing on the west from Hejellee." For Rabnabad, which includes three islands, see I.G. XI. 341. (Old ed., not mentioned in new ed.)

[1] Text حبشه Ḥabsha. Ethiopia? and there is the variant Khasrū. Professor Dowson, who has translated the account of Tarsūn's disaster VI. 72, has read the word as Jessore, and in this he is supported by the I.O. MS. 236 which has جسر. It is probable also that the variant given in Bib. Ind. text supports him, with the exception of the misplacing of a dot for خسرو. Khasrū is probably خسر Khasar, the *u* at the end being a conjunction. I.O. MS. 235 has چين Chīn China, but this is probably a guess. I am inclined to think that the country meant is Jaintia, east of Sylhet, for in the Āīn J. II. 139 this is spelt Jesa or Jaisa جيسا. It is evident from J. II. 116 that Abul Faẓl regarded Bhātī as lying on the east of Bengal as well as on the south of it, and he probably regarded the whole of Sylhet, the southern part of which is very low, as belonging to Bhātī. It will be seen from the text, p. 432, and from the Āīn J. II. 116, that Bhātī was considered as being larger than Bengal Proper, even with the inclusion of part of Behar, for the length of Bengal from Chittagong to Garhī is given as 400 *kos*, and its breadth from the northern mountains to Madāran as 200 kos, whereas Bhātī is said to be 400 *kos* from E. to. W. and nearly 300 from N. to S. I doubt if Jessore can be right, for Jessore and Baqriganj seem to have been included in Bhātī. Moreover Abul Faẓal would hardly have spoken of Jessore as a wilayat or country. In his time it was not even a sarkār. It was only a pargana in Sarkār Khalīfatābād, J. II. 134, where we find a large maḥal or pargana entered as Jessore, otherwise Rasālpur. See Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 121, and B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, 217. The quotation from the Haft Iqlīm in Raverty's translation of the T. Nāṣirī, p. 593 note, where Bengal is said to be bounded on the south by Jesūdah, is according to Blochmann, J.A.S.B. for 1875, 285, a copyist's error for Chittuah. However it is right to point out that Jessore is mentioned along with Bhūsna as a country or district in Bengal, A. N. III. 787, five lines from foot.

[2] Text كهين variant كهن. I do not know what tribe this name represents. In I.O. MS. 239 it is كهش kahash. Apparently it is the same word as the Khīta or Kīsa of p. 397, l. 5, and which I have supposed to represent the Cossyahs. Possibly the word is Kohsār or some such word meaning a hillman. What we should expect to find would be Santāl or Kol. Perhaps the word is Koc or Konc. A. F. speaks at p. 397 of the Khītas being like Calmacks (Qulmāp)

North also the ocean[1] and the terminations of the hill-country of Tibet. The father of this chief (*būmi*) belonged to the Bais[2] tribe of Rajputs. In that fluviatile region he continually displayed presumption and refractoriness. In the time of Selīm K., Tāj K.[3] and Daryā K. went to that country with large forces, and after many contests he came in and surrendered. In a short while he again rebelled. They managed by a trick to get hold of him and sent him to the abode of annihilation, and sold his two sons 'Īsā and Ishmael to merchants. When the cup of Selīm K.'s life was full, and

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in appearance, and the T. Nāṣirī, Raverty 560, says that in the mountain between Tibet and Gaur (Lakhaṉawaṭi) there are races, the Kūne, Mej and the Tihārū, and that they all have Turk countenances (i.e. Mongolian features). Cf. B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, vol. 42, p. 239 7.

1 Certainly the name nearest in spelling to Khen is the Khyin or Cin tribe in the Arakan hill tracts, but then how should they be in the west of Bengal? See note at p. 397 of text. I can make nothing of this extraordinary northern boundary, the ocean. Possibly *dariyā-i-shor* is a mistake for darīyā-i-surma, "the river Surmā" in Sylhet, but against this is a fact that we have the word *nīz*, "also", in the original which must refer to the occurrence of the ocean as the north boundary. Nor do I understand the mention of the mountains of Tibet. However we have just seen the T. Nāsirī speaking of the mountains between Tibet and Gaur, and from the great length, 300 *kos*, of Bhātī from N. to S. it looks as if A. F. included Gaur or part of Assam in it. It is evident that 'Īsā had associations with North-Eastern Bengal, for we find that he made an expedition to Kūc Bīhar. Professor Dowson well says, l. c., "The whole description is unintelligible."

2 See Elliot's Supplementary Glossary I. 13 for an account of the Bais clan. It originally belonged to Baiswāra in Oudh. It is curious that in the Āīn J. II. 117, 'Īsā is called 'Īsā Afghan. Perhaps the account in the A.N. was written after A.F. had got fuller information.

3 Tāj K. was Sulaimān Kararānī's elder brother and reigned before him. See Stewart's Bengal 148 and the Riyāẓu-s-salātīn, Bib. I. ed. 152. I do not know who Daryā K. was. B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 225, also mentions a Tāj K. Masnad-i Ālī who established himself at the mouth of the Rasūlpūr river about 1505. This is a local legend, and the Tāj Masnad-i Ālī may be Sulaimān's brother. Tāj K.'s name appears in the list of the rulers of Bengal, J. II. 147, immediately before Sulaimān's. See also id. 149, where it is said that Taj K. killed Jalālu-d-dīn (the brother of Bahādur Shāh, otherwise Khiẓr K.) and assumed the government and was afterwards succeeded by his younger brother Sulaimān. The best account of Tāj K. appears to be that in the

Tāj K. became predominant in Bengal,[1] Quṭbu-d dīn, the paternal uncle of ʻĪsā, obtained glory by good service, and by making diligent search brought back both brothers from Turān. ʻĪsā acquired fame by his ripe judgment and deliberateness, and made the twelve *zamindārs* [2] of Bengal subject to himself. Out of foresight and cautiousness he refrained from waiting upon the rulers of Bengal, though he rendered service to them and sent them presents. From a distance he made use of submissive language.

433 When the bank of the river Ganges near Khiẓrpūr [3] became an imperial camp, there were strong forts on the two sides of the river owing to the spot's being a thoroughfare. In a short time both of these were taken with severe fighting, and Sonargaon came into the possession of the imperial servants. They also reached Karābūh ? [4]

Rauẓat-ṭ ṭāhirīn in the chapter on the Kings of Bengal.

1 Can this be the Quṭb K. who is said to have abandoned Sher Shāh's service in disgust at his breach of faith to Purān Mal? See A. N. translation I.—399—5.

2 These are the Bāra Bhūīahs, for whom see Dr. Wise's papers J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 197, and 1875, p. 181, and Gait in id. for 1893, p. 281. According to Pimenta, ʻĪsā himself was one of the twelve. Here I may note that the fullest account of ʻĪsā K. is in Dr. Wise's paper already cited, p. 209 of J.A.S.B. for 1874. It appears from it that ʻĪsā's father was called Kāli Dās Gajdānī and that he became a Muḥammadan and received the title of Sulaimān K. If this was so, however, one would hardly expect his children to have been sold into slavery, for it is contrary to Muḥammadan law to sell believers as slaves. There are several references to ʻĪsā K. in the A.N., and I have pointed them out in a paper in the A.S.B.J. for 1904, p. 57. ʻĪsā died in 1008 A.H., 1599-1600 A.N. 763. He had a son named Dāūd, A.N. 809.

3 About a mile N. of Narainganj in the Dacca district. J.A.S.B. for 1872, vol. XLI, p. 96, note by Dr. Wise. It is entered under Sonārgāon in the Āīn J. II. 138. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 133, and Dr. Wise's article, J.A.S.B., vol XLIII, p. 211. There is however another Khiẓrpūr (Kidderpūr) marked on Rennel's map which is perhaps the one here meant. It is on the Brahmaputra to the N. of Dacca.

4 This name is doubtful. The Māaṣir in its account of Shahbāz K. II. 595 has Katrāpūr. I.O. MS. 236 has Kashrābu and No. 235 has Katrālu. Blochmann suggests Bakterāpūr. Possibly the *ba* of the text is part of the name and the word is Bikrāmpūr. Or the name may be a corruption of Khatābazū in Sarkār Bāzūhā J. II. 138, or it may be Kerapūr in Sarkār Sonargāon, J. II. 139. In Rennel's map of the Ganges and Brahmaputra there is a place called Goraboe, marked near Ekdalla, which

which was his ('Īsā's) home. That populous city was plundered. A force was sent against Bārā Sindar,[1] which is a large town, and much plunder was obtained. From there they came [2] to the Brahmaputra. This is a great river which comes from Assam.[3] After a little fight, which took place with the scouts (qarāwalān), Ma'ṣūm lost firmness and took refuge in an island.[4] He was nearly made prisoner. At

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is probably the place in text. It was probably near the place called Doordoreah by Dr. Taylor, p. 112 of Topography of Dacca, and situated eight miles above Ekdalla, but Doordoreah was on the other side of the river. The name Karabuh recurs at p. 733, and there as here we have the variant Katrabuh. Now in Dr. Wise's paper Katrabo is mentioned, p. 211, as a place in Dacca where a branch of 'Īsā's family still resides. It seems probable that this is the place meant by the text. Dr. Wise also in his supplementary paper, J.A.S.B. for 1875, p. 181, quotes Sebastian Manrique's mention of Catrabo as one of the twelve provinces of Bengal, and on the following page he says, "Catrabo is Katrabo, now a 'tappa' on the Lakhya, opposite Khiẓrpūr, and which for long was the property of the descendants of 'Īsā K." He also quotes Clementī Tosi, who says, "Katrabo Capo d'una provincia." Finally at p. 214, J.A.S.B. for 1874, Dr. Wise tells us that the Jangalbari family (descended from 'Īsā) have a *sanad* dated 1700 which mentions Kaṭrābo in Bāzuhā. Dr. Wise tells us, J.A.S.B. for 1874 211, that Khiẓrpūr is generally associated with 'Īsā K.'s name and that it is situated about a mile N. of Narainganj. But may not 'Īsā's Khiẓrpūr be the one marked in Rennel's map on the old Brahmaputra and E. of Toke? Most probably Katrābuh is the Katārmalbāzū of the Āīn, J. II. 138. There is the variant Katabal. Tiefenthaler has Katārbalbāzū and Gladwin has Kuttermul Bazoi. If Katrabuh was opposite the Narainganj Khiẓrpūr, it cannot be the Goraboe of Rennel. The reading Bahtārāpur as the name of Isā's residence is probably a mistake for ba-katrāpūr, i.e. with or to Katrāpūr.

[1] This may be Kiyāra or Katāra Sindūr, J. II. 124, but the I.O. MSS. have a quite different word, viz. Mashhadī, which I do not find in the Āīn. The same word also occurs in a MS. belonging to myself. Perhaps the place is Masjid Ḥusain Shāhī or Masjid Andarkhāni in Sarkār Ghoṛāghāt. J. II. 136.

[2] Apparently they marched or sailed up the Brahmaputra, i.e. up the Lakhīa to the Brahmaputra (the old bed).

[3] There is the variant Khitā (Cathay), and Khitā is given as the source of the Brahmaputra in the Āīn J. II. 121.

[4] B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, 231 n., says that 'Īsā was strong enough to make war on Kūc Bihar. This however refers to a subsequent period. See below p. 716. 'Īsā appears to be

this time ʻĪsā, who had gone to Koc (Cooch Bihār) arrived with a large and well-equipped army. The imperial servants took post at Totak on the bank of the said river and opposite the city of Kināra ı Sindār and established a fort there. On both sides there were hot engagements by land and water. The imperialists were continually successful. They sent to Ṭarsūn K. and directed that he should make a demonstration at Bajasrāpur [2] and so distract the enemy (lit. make them of two minds or hearts). Two roads led from the town of Bhawāl [3] (i.e. Nagarī). One was far away from the enemy and the other was by the river bank, and this was very near them. By heaven's decree Ṭarsūn K. took the latter route. Maʻṣūm K. heard of this and marched rapidly with a large force. Shahbāz K. sent Muḥibb Ālī K., Rajah Gopāl, Khangār and others. He also sent a swift courier to warn him and to bid him take up a strong position until the reinforcements arrived. He (Ṭarsūn) did not believe [4]

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the Gaur Pāshā of Gait, J.A.S.B. for 1893, pp. 290-91.

Perhaps the island, *jazīra*, is the peninsula between the Brahmaputra (old) and the Lakhia. The word *jazīra* has both meanings.

[1] Probably this is Toke, a well-known and beautiful spot N. of Dacca. It is opposite Agāra Sundar in Rennel's map and probably we should read Agāra instead of Kināra here. Toke is at the head of the Banān or Lakhīa river where it leaves the old Brahmaputra. Toke is said to be the Tugma of Ptolemy. See Taylor, *id.* 116. I think that the Totak of text is a mistake for Tonk, the dot appearing to be after the k instead of before it.

[2] بجور ایور There is the variant Bajhrāpūr. I cannot identify the place. Perhaps Bajitpūr in the Maimansingh district is meant. This may be the Bāyazīdpūr of J. II. 135, or the Bājpatārī of *id.* 136. Both are in Ghorāghāt.

[3] In Elliot, this is identified with the Bhāwal in Dacca, and presumably this is right. The Dacca Bhāwal is entered in Sarkar Bāzūha. See Beames, i.e. 127. The Bhāwal entered under Sarkar Madāran is a mistake, see *id.* 105. When Ṭārsūn K. was last spoken of he was in Tājpūr ; see above, p. 416, and Elliot VI. 71.

[4] This is an obscure passage and it is left untranslated in Elliot. Part of the difficulty is due to an error in the text. That has, at nine lines from foot, *bawezish nayaid*, "Not come to an engagement." But the true reading, as shown by the I.O. MSS. and the Maʼāṣir I. 474, last line, is *bawārash nayāmad*, "he did not believe him." Ṭarsūn did not believe the courier and was sorry for Shahbāz, thinking that he had been deceived into sending away a part of his forces. This is clear from the line in the Maʼāsir, top of p. 475. Therefore, though he did so

the message and grieved for Shahbāz K., thinking (or saying) that the rebels had committed a fraud, and had by this contrivance separated a body of troops from Shahbāz. As the courier was very urgent and his companions represented the advantages of caution and the evils of carelessness, he set about looking for a shelter and found a suitable place. But as he in no way believed what the courier said he did not halt there but went on towards the camp (of Shahbāz). Just then news came that an enemy was approaching. He cast away the thread of farsightedness and concluded that it was the reinforcement, and was preparing to receive it with hospitality. He had gone some steps when the tumult of the foe filled with dust the field of his security. Though his well-wishers urged him to hasten to the shelter until the men should come from the camp (of Shahbāz) and urged that possibly the officers of the reinforcement might come up, it was of no avail. He set himself with a strong heart and a tranquil mind to engage in combat. Some went off, alleging that they were going for arms. Though not more than fifteen men remained with him, he boldly took the field. Farīdūn Ḥusain, 434
and ʻAlī Yār, who was related to him, were favoured by fortune and bought eternal fame with the money of life. Ṭarsūn K. was wounded and made prisoner. Maʻṣūm K. spoke lovingly to him and wanted him to join him. As he was of a loyal disposition, he reproached and censured him, and gave him lofty counsels. The shameless one of narrow capacity put him to death, and Ṭarsūn gathered in his old age an everlasting good name.

One of the occurrences was the death of the painter Daswanth.[1] He was the son of a Kahār (pālkī-bearer caste). The acuteness and appreciativeness of the world's lord brought his great artistic talents to notice. His paintings were not behind those of Bihzād[2] and the painters of China. All at once melancholy took possession of him, and he wounded himself with a dagger. After two days he paid back the loan of life, and grief came to the hearts of connoisseurs.

Another occurrence was the wounding of Sānwal[3] Dās; he was

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far yield as to seek out a shelter, he went on.

[1] He is mentioned in the Ain. B. 108.

[2] A famous painter, mentioned by Bābur, 197. He was at the court of Sh. Ḥusain M. of Hirāt.

[3] B. 525.

Rajah Gopāl Jādūn's brother's son, and was one of the personal attendants. At the end of the day he was hurrying to go on guard. Bīcā [1] Bhāthī from his enmity towards him thought that in this rapid movement Sānwal had the evil intention of killing him. He therefore attacked him with a sword and struck [2] him such a blow that experienced physicians thought he would not recover. The world's Khedive visited him and cast the shadow of his graciousness over him. By his breathings, Sānwal recovered from his mortal injury, and after three years became quite well.

Among the occurrences were the disturbance in Badakhshān, and the apologies of M. Ḥakīm. Evil-minded strife-mongers stirred up the dust of dissension between MM. Sulaiman and Shāhrukh. From carelessness and love of flattery these two could not distinguish friend from foe. They fell out with one another and did not attend to the administration of the kingdom. The soldiers were discontented, the subjects suffered injustice, the country was uncultivated, the forts unprovisioned. Whoever attends to his own comfort and neglects the helpless will soon strike his foot against the stone of failure. And whoever does not regard the winning of hearts as a great blessing will soon become a wanderer in the desert of ruin. While indulging in such evil conduct they turned away from supplicating Shāhanshāh, and (at the same time) spent their days in pride and conceit. 'Abdullāh K. Uzbak, the ruler of Turān, got his opportunity and came to Badakhshān, and got possession of
435 that strong country without a battle. The Mīrzās fell into the desert of helplessness. M. Ḥakīm awoke from the heavy slumber of self-conceit, and sent skilful ambassadors, and made a thousand entreaties. The world's lord granted the envoys' wishes and dismissed them. The gist of the reply was "The Mīrzās of Badakhshān are receiving the retribution of their ingratitude. Make yourself glorious, outwardly and inwardly, by the splendour of sincerity so that far and near it may be perceived. Assuredly in that case others will be afraid of you. If before this be recognized, any one make an attempt on your country we shall, in the first place, send skilful

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[1] There is the variant Bījā and I.O. MS. 236 has Bīmā. Bhāthī is a Rajput tribe. See Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I. 37. It is also spelt Bhāttī.

[2] There is the variant "*barrān*," "on the thigh."

and faithful men to administer good advice (to 'Abdullāh). If this be not effective, we shall send warriors who are grippers of victory, rank-breaking elephants, vast treasures, and a large part of artillery under the command of one of our fortunate sons." The envoys had not come out of the kingdom when a second petition arrived to the effect that "The Mīrzās of Badakhshān have, with repentant hearts and ashamed countenances, taken shelter at this eternal dominion (i.e. Kābul). What is the order?" M. Ḥakīm also represented his own state of confusion. The order was "At our court, repentance is purchased at a high price (i.e. much is given for it). Give the Mīrzās news of joy, and send them off after making them hopeful of the Shahanshāh's favour. And do you yourself rely upon our daily-increasing fortune, and stand firm, and be under no apprehensions." The language now used is the same as that in the previous rescript.

One of the occurrences was the submission of Qutlū Kararānī. It has been mentioned that part of the victorious army of Bengal had marched to the Bhāti country with Shahbāz K. and that another portion was with Wazīr K. in Bardwān and was stationed there to repress Qutlū. This army was spending its time there on account of the ill-timed moderation of Wazīr K. When Ṣādiq K. joined, real work was done, and the face of fortune assumed fresh glory. That presumptuous one (Qutlú) lost endurance, broke up his camp, and went off with shame to Orissa. The officers pursued him and arrived at Tukarōī.[1] His condition became desperate and he took refuge in the forest of Dharmpūr.[2] With craft he mixed gold with entreaty (*zar bazārī*, "gold and greeting"). The officers, from cupidity, and the hardships of campaigning, did not attend to the circumstances, and made use of a former order which was to the effect that if the dweller in the ravine of ruin should bind himself to the saddle-straps of eternal dominion, they were not to take his past into account, and were to make over Orissa to him. He out of gratitude sent his brother's son to court, and also sent sixty choice elephants and other presents. On 1 Tīr, 11 June 1584 S.,

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[1] The text has بیک کروهی within one *kos*, but the true reading is بتکروی "to Tokarōī" as Elliot VI. 75 and I.O. MS. 236 show.

[2] Harpūr in original, but Dharmpūr, or Dharpūr, seems to be the correct reading. It is Dharmpūr in Iqbālnāma. See ante p. 122 and note.

Ibrāhīm Fatḥpūrī was exalted by doing homage, and brought the envoys to the court. When the assembly of peace had been held,
436 Wazīr K. was sent back to Tānda, and Ṣādiq K. to Patna. Every one rejoiced in getting his fief. On the 13th the lunar weighing of the world's lord took place and a delightful feast rejoiced far and near.

One of the occurrences was Rajah Bīrbar's having a renewal of life. The caugān-ground had been fitted up and there was an elephant fight going on. Suddenly the elephant Cācar, which was unique for violence, and for the killing of men, rushed to kill a foot passenger, but then passed him by and turned towards the Rajah. He was nearly killing him with his proboscis. The Shāhanshāh from his general benevolence and especial kindness (for Bīrbar), and great courage, urged on his horse and came between the monster and the Rājah. The enraged brute rushed at the cavalier of the arena of courage and a cry went up from mankind, and the livers of iron-hearted men became like water. All at once, it stood still, overcome by the majestic "Avaunt" (Dūrbāsh). Amazement seized the beholders.

Among the occurrences were the deaths of Ghāzī [1] K. Badakhshī and Sulṭān Khwāja [2] Naqshbandī. The first was a hero elightened by

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[1] Ghāzī K. was also called Qāzī Niẓām. He was originally in M. Sulaimān's service. He is famous for having invented the *sijda* or prostration. See B. 440, and the long notice in the Máaṣir II. 857. See also Badāyūnī, Lowe, 185-86 and 351 and the Darbār Akbarī 816. Badāyūnī's account of what Ghāzī K. said to his servant etc. is not very intelligible. Badayūnī has also a notice of him under the name of Qāzī Niẓām in vol. III. 153. A. F. gives two causes for his death, but he might have added old age, for the Ma'āṣir says he was 70 when he died. The same authority says that his son Ḥusāmu-d-dīn was married to A. F.'s sister, and that he became a darvesh. See Tūzuk 80, quoted by **B.**

[2] See **B.** 423 and the long account in the Māaṣir II. 379, who takes occasion to give a full account of Akbar's religious views. He was buried outside the fort of Fatḥpūr towards the north. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 351. Mulla Aḥmad of Tatta, afterwards killed by a Sunnī, found the chronogram Sulṭanu-l-Khawārij (prince of heretics), but it is one short, yielding only 991. According to the Māaṣir II. 382, who quotes from a work by Lāl Beg Nahshbandi, Badayūnī's story about Sultan Khwājah's mode of burial is not true.

wisdom. To the sword he added the high dignity of the pen. Though stupid in conventional learning, yet by the blessing of his discipleship of the world's lord he in company with the illuminate-sages (*dānishwarān-i-'Ishq*) and the pure Ṣūfīs, performed his devotions (to Akbar). Thus, though tied by external circumstances, he gathered a share of deliverance. He always had a weeping eye (*chashm-i-giryān*) and a burning heart. He made the final journey (i.e. died) in the city of Awadh on 4th Amardād (about 15th July 1584). Apparently, an act of sexual intercourse and improper food conducted him to the abode of annihilation.

Though the second (Sulṭān Khwāja) had not garnered much knowledge, and had never ascended the heights or sounded the depths of learning, yet many of the heartfelt words of Ṣūfism had polished his nature, and he became cognisant of the spirit of the age by the virtue of the Shāhanshāh's glance. By a genuine discipleship he pressed on towards the pleasant abode of Freedom (*iṭlāq*). On the 5th (Amardād—25th July 1584) he died at Fatḥpūr from weakness of the stomach and heart. The loving sovereign was grieved at the departure of those two wise men, and by lofty counsels administered comfort to their children and other mourners. He took upon himself the charge of providing for them.

One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān Āẓim M. Koka to Mālwa. It has been mentioned that when he was in Allahabad he became disgusted with holding *jāgirs* in Bengal and Bihar. Accordingly Raisīn and Garha were assigned to him. On the 17th he set out for those places after being loaded with counsels. On 25th Shahrīwar, about 4th September 1584, Bāqī[1] K., the brother of Adham K., died. His surviving family was cared for by the sympathetic Shāhanshāh.

One of the occurrences was the disgrace of Saiyid Daulat.[2] When there was some disturbance in Gujarat, this impure one again prevailed over Cambay. The Mota Rājah, Medinī Rāi, Rājah Mukat Man, Rām Sāh, Udai Singh, Rām Cand Bāgha Rathor, 437

[1] See Badayūnī, Lowe 351, where it is stated that he died in Garha Katanga which was his jāgīr. Bāqī K. is also mentioned at p. 59 of *id.* He was Adham K'.s elder brother. There is a short notice of him in the Māaṣir I. 394.

[2] Cf. Elliot V. 435-36.

Tulsī Dās, Jādūn Rahādur, Atūl Ghakkar, Abūl fatḥ Mughal, Qarā Baḥrī, Daulat K. Lūdī and others were appointed to chastise him. Before they arrived, he had cast his eye upon plundering Petlād. Khwājam Bardī and a body of brave men gave him battle, and he was wounded and had to fly. Also at this time ʻĀbid, Mīrak Yūsuf, Mīrak Afẓal, ʻAbdullāh and Timar Ḥusain came out of the hill-country of Rājpīpla and stirred up strife near the town of Mūnda,[1] and oppressed the peasantry. The Khān-Khānān sent from near the Mahindrī Khwājah Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. Mīr Abūl Moẓaffar, Khwājr Rafī, Mīr Maʻṣūm Bhakkarī, Sulṭān Rāthor, the son of Saiyid Hāshim,[2] and other brave men.[3] When they came to Dhūlqa (Dholka of I.G.) the rebels had dispersed, and so they returned.

Also at this time Bahar[4] K. Ghakkar stirred up strife in Badhnagar.[5] Qābil K.[6] Gujarātī, Rādhan K. and other fief-holders of that quarter gave him battle, and many of the strife-mongers were slain. That turbulent one had to sit in the corner of failure.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army against Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujarātī. On 25 Ardībihisht the Khān-Khānān arrived at Aḥmadābād and applied himself to the improvement of the country and the soothing of the weak. The distracted state of the country became somewhat lessened. At this time the evil-disposed one came out of the defiles of the hill-country of Rājpīpla and set off towards Pattan. Maqṣūd Ākā and many brave men were appointed, under the command of Shādmān Beg, and on hearing of this, Moẓaffar went off hastily towards Idar,[7] and took refuge in Kathīwāra. From there he crept off to the port of Ghogha.[8]

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1 Mandah of J. II. 253 ?. Probably the Moondah of Bayley's map.

2 Text, Saiyid Ḥāshim, but the variant "son of" must be right, for Ḥāshim was killed at the battle of Sarkhej. The variant is also supported by the I.O. MSS.

3 Niẓāmu-d-dīn does not notice this expedition; probably this was because there was no fighting.

4 The I.O. MSS. have Behār or Pahar Khokar.

5 W. Idar and Dūngārpūr, the Burnugger of Bayley's map.

6 This is the nearest approach I can find to the name Ginbiblica mentioned in Akbar's *parwāna* J.A.S.B. for 1896, pp. 60 and 61.

7 So in text, and the I.O. MSS. fail us here. But I suspect some mistake, for Īdar would not be in the way from Pattan to Kāthīwār. However the Iqbālnāma has Īdar.

8 A port in the Gulf of Cambay. I.G. XII. 301.

Every one of his companions withdrew into retirement. Sher K. Fūlādī went to Baglāna. The ruler of that country sought to seize him. He left his property behind him, and by wiles got off to the Deccan. A few had the good fortune to go over to the victorious army, such as Mahdī [1] Sultan, the brother of Khiẓr Khwāja K., and the son of M. Muqīm Naqshbandī. Though some pursuit took place, yet if there had been celerity, that one of slumbrous fortune (Sher Fūlādī) would have been seized.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Broach. When, by the wondrous fortune of Shāhinshāh Sulṭan Moẓaffar had had to fly for the second time, Qulīj K., Naurang K., Sharīf, Tolak 438
K. and other fief-holders in Mālwa went off to take Broach. On 1 Farwardīn they invested the fort. As they were slow about it, and the taking of it was spun out, the Khān-Khānān sent a number of strenuous men to their assistance, under the command of Shihābu dīn K., and that Sarkār was given to him in *tiyūl*. The officers took up the work anew, and prosecuted it vigorously. On 10 Mihr the leader of the musketeers came out, and reported about the distressed and wearied condition of the besieged. He said that if the imperialists came to the gate, his comrades would open the door to them, and a difficult task would become easy. As his statements bore the marks of truth, they immediately set their minds on carrying out the plan, and words became deeds. There was the apparition of victory.[2] Naṣīra by craft came out of the battery of Sharīf K., but Carkis and many others were killed.

On the 21st Mihr the house of Rajah Bīrbar was made glorious by the feet of the Shāhinshāh. His wishes were gratified, and there was a great feast.

One [3] of the occurrences was that Shāhbāz K. returned unsuccessful from Bhātī, and that steps were taken to retrieve matters.

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[1] This must be Gulbadan Begam's brother-in-law. See her Memoirs, 182. This renders support to the idea that the Khizr-Khwāja of p. 411 is her husband.

[2] Cf. Elliot V. 437, and the Mirāt Sikandarī, p. 380. The latter says Nīṣar and Carkis came out at night and that Carkis' horse stuck in the mud (of the Narbadda) and so he was caught and killed. See also M. Aḥmadī, p. 163.

[3] This passage is translated in Elliot VI. 75.

When he went there, he encamped on the bank of the Panār [1] which is a branch of the Brahmaputra. He occupied himself in sending messages and in giving counsels. The suggestion was that he (ʻĪsā) should deliver up the rebels, or drive them away from his presence. ʻĪsā had recourse to coaxing expressions, and for a time indulged in plausible speeches. When it appeared that his tongue and his heart were not in accord, there arose the turbulence of battle. For seven months there were victories from time to time, and the evil-doers were put to shame and suffered failure. It was a time when both parties [2] should have lighted the lamp of discernment, and have practised conciliatory measures. But from somnolences of intellect, there was an increase of blindness, and arrogance rose high. From self-conceit Shahbāz K. vexed people, and his officers snapped the thread of moderation and behaved in a silly manner. The evil-doings of the enemy increased. Death [3] made his appearance and the stock of life became dear. The enemy relied upon the circumstances that the rainy season was at hand, and that the victorious troops would be compelled to return. Fortunately the rainfall was less than usual, and so they had to wait in a shameful [4] condition for the dark days. They collected a number of diggers (*bīldār*) and cut the (bank of) river Brahmaputra in fifteen places. The water rushed upon the camp and the batteries were submerged. The enemy brought large war-boats, which had very high and long bows, and in the country-language are called *pitāra*,[5] and took them close to Shahbāz

1 The Bannar of Rennel, which is according to him another name for the Luckia, or Sītal Luckia (the Luckhyā of the I.G.). Taylor, Topography of Dacca, Calcutta 1840, says, p. 12: "The Bannar unites the Brahmapootra and Luckia (i.e. the Buriganga). It has formed a deep bed for itself in the hard kankar soil of the Northern Division, and in some places is more than fifty feet deep."

2 Text *har du*. I. O. MSS. have *har du sū*, "both sides." The reference is to Shahbāz and his officers.

3 I.O. MSS. have *margī*, "Pestilence." The expression "stock of life" is allegorical apparently, and does not mean that provisions became dear.

4 Sharmgīnī. Both I.O. MSS. have "*sarkamīn*", lying in wait.

5 Cf. J. II. 122, where it is said that boats are so adapted for a siege that when run ashore they overtop the fort. There is the variant *bināra*; Elliot has *liyara*, and so apparently have the two I.O. MSS., though the word in these may also be read *pāra*. Probably the word is *palwār*. See

K.'s fort. On both sides there was firing of artillery and muskets. The warriors were somewhat disconcerted, but by heaven's aid the enemy's leader was struck by a bullet and killed, and some boats were broken to pieces, and all at once the waters decreased, and the enemy had to fly. A large amount of booty was obtained, and many of the enemy were drowned. There was a hot contest in every 439
battery, and the Fortune of the Shahinshāh had fresh lustre. But the foe prevailed against Saiyid Ḥusain, the thānadār of Dacca, and he was made prisoner. 'Īsā awoke from his heavy sleep of ignorance and set afoot negotiations for peace through the instrumentality of his prisoner. Shahbāz K. accepted them. 'Īsā bound up the waist of obedience, and thought that by service he would obtain deliverance. He agreed that a royal *daroghah* should be appointed in the port of Sonargāon, and that M'aṣūm should be sent to the Ḥijāz. He also sent presents and *peshkash* and won over the hearts of the officers by large gifts, and the victorious army retired. When Shahbāz K. had crossed the rivers and reached Bhawāl, and was looking for the fulfilment of 'Īsā's promises (lit. for words to be converted into deeds), wicked men in the army[1] in improper language made 'Īsā doubtful in his mind. He changed his language, and brought forward conditions. The commander of the army was indignant, and said that to make confusions on every occasion and to introduce new clauses was not the rule with right-minded persons. He became stern and spoke harshly. Preparations were made for battle, and on 19 Mihr, divine month, 30 September 1584, that crooked-minded one ('Īsā) came forward to fight. The officers from short-sightedness saw their gain in what was their loss, and thought that the defeat of Shahbāz K. would be an advantage to themselves. The first to go off without fighting was Muḥibb 'Alī K. Every one left his place and went a roadless road. Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram made some stand and fought, but from being unsupported and from being wounded he left Bhawāl. Shahbāz K. awoke from his sleep of haughtiness and made some effort to win the affections of his officers, but misplaced repentance is of no avail. He was obliged

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Wilson's Glossary and Taylor's Topography of Dacca, p. 120, where it is said that the palwar is the kind of boat peculiar to the district.

[1] Apparently this means Shahbāz's army.

to march for Tānda. All his collections were lost, and the sons of Mīr ʻĀdila and others were made prisoners. S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī and others were killed. During the retreat Khangār Saiyid ʻAbdullah K., Rajah Gopāl, Mīrzādas ʻAli K. and others fell in with Tarkhān Dīwāna, M. Muḥammd and Nauruz ʻAlī Qāqshāl as they were returning from plundering. Owing to their evil fortune [1] (*az bakht teragī*) the rebels took the band of imperialists to be their own men and joined them. There was a hot engagement and the *days* of Nauruz [2] (*naurūz rā rūzgār*) came to an end and the others came off half-alive by dint of running. Victory displayed the face of joy, and abundant plunder was obtained. The officers after eight days obtained repose at Sherpūr-Murca.[3] Shahbāz K. tried to make preparation in this place and then to return and exact vengeance, but his companions were disgusted with his bad manners
440 and did not incline to accompany him. When they arrived at Tānda, Wazīr K. came forward with an open brow and a warm welcome. Shahbāz K. brought forward his former proposition, but opinions were not unanimous, and hearts did not emerge from double-mindedness. They were obliged to make reference to the holy threshold. When the news came, strenuous *sazāwals* were sent to turn back the officers, and suitable censures were conveyed to each of them, and counsels were also given. An order was issued to S'aīd K. and other fief-holders of Bengal and Bihar to act in unity and to exert themselves to punish the landholder (ʻĪsā). First, Peshrau K. and Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah were sent on this service, and afterwards Rām Dās Kacwāha and Mujāhid Kambū. They were by sharp words to produce a beneficial effect and make them keener for service.

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[1] Blochmann, 436, makes the mistake to have been on the side of the Imperialists, and apparently the Bib. Ind. takes this view, which is perhaps supported by the grammatical construction But surely A. F. would not speak of the mistake being the result of evil fortune if it eventuated in a victory for the Imperialists. I think therefore that the meaning is that the rebels, who were loaded with booty, made the mistake, and the note of the Lucknow edition, p. 280 of vol. III, takes this view. The *giroh* in text is I think the band of Imperialists.

[2] Naurūz means New day and A. F. puns on this.

[3] I adopt the variant Sherpūr Murca.

On 16 Āẕar, divine month, the house of Rajah Todar Mal was illuminated by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. The Rajah had for a long time cherished this desire, and he preferred his request in an excellent manner. At this time he gained his object and in thanksgiving had a great feast.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Jagannāth to Ajmīr. News came that the Rānā had come out of the defiles of the mountains, and was creating a disturbance, and was oppressing the weak. As the chastisement of the wicked is Divine worship, an army was appointed under his command. J'afar Beg was made paymaster (*bakhshī*). It set off on 24 Āẕar, after Jagannāth had received valuable counsels. In a short time they arrived there, and the landowner retreated, and men got their repose. After some days, Saiyīd Rājū was left in Mandalgarh with some men, and an expedition was undertaken against the Rānā's residence. He did not find himself able to oppose, but came out by another ravine and stirred up strife in the country that was submissive. Saiyid Rājū marched against him to give battle, and the Rãnā returned towards Citūr. The Saiyid returned from the stage which the Rānā had left. Though there was no victory, yet the oppressed were delivered. Jagannāth attacked his residence, and joined Saiyid Rājū.

One of the occurrences was the birth of Ārām Bānū Begam.[1] On 12 Dai, 22 December 1584, divine month, and the 19th degree of Sagittarius, and according to the calculation of the Indians, one degree and 54 minutes, that night gleaming jewel of fortune appeared, and glorified the harem of the Shāhinshāh. Astrologers announced the joyful news, and the world's lord conferred on her that great name. It is to be hoped that the advent of this lady of the family of chastity will be the means of increased life and will be an adornment to the kingdom.

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[1] Cf. Jahāngir's Memoirs, Price's translation, p. 48. Her mother was Bībī Daulat Shād. Jahangir says his father was very fond of her. See also Tūzuk 16. Akbar called her his Lādla (Lārla) (darling), and Jahāngīr speaks of her as being of a violent temper. Shakra-n-nisā was her elder sister and by the same mother. Ārām Bānū died of dysentery on 7 Tīr in the 19th year of Jahangir in her fortieth year. Tuzūk Supplement, p. 386. The statement there that she left the world in the same state in which she entered it must mean that she never married.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

The Arrival of Shāhrukh M. at the Court of the Shāhinshāh.

(This chapter begins with about twelve lines of reflections on the evils of flattery, etc. as illustrated by the history of the Badakhshān Mīrzās. It then proceeds as follows) :—

When M. Ḥakīm returned to Kabul from Badakhshān, M.
441 Shahrukh brought himself to the resolution of paying his respects to M. Sulaimān, and of living in harmony. M. Sulaimān, on account of suspicions, and his observation of the conduct of faithless persons, would not agree to this. After much talk, it was arranged that Uzbeg Sulṭān, the ruler of Hiṣār—who kept alive the rules of relationship and friendship—should send a party of men as sureties (bayāwarī) and that the Mīrzās should see one another in the midst of the river Āmūī (the Oxus), at a place [1] where there are nine channels, and that they should there enter into engagements of concord. It was also arranged that M. Sulaimān should cross four channels, and M. Shāhrukh five. When M. Sulaimān [2] arrived at the river-bank, he crossed one channel and then got frightened and turned his rein. Makers of difficulties were nearly putting a stumbling-block in M. Shāhrukh's path, but from his good disposition and intentions he crossed eight channels, and after waiting upon M. Sulai-

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[1] It would be interesting to know where this place is. It probably is in the upper course of the Oxus and south of Ḥiṣār Shādmān, which is another name for Ḥiṣār. The nine channels recall Arnold's expression "The shorn and parcelled Oxus." In Bābur's time, and also in M. Sulaimān's, Badakhshan included territory north of the Oxus.

[2] Sulaimān had crossed one channel, and presumably Shāhrukh crossed this and visited his camp which presumably was on the N. bank of the Oxus. But perhaps the meaning is that Sulaimān did not turn quite back but stayed at the south side of the first of the nine channels, and that the meeting took place there.

mān expressed his desires for amity. He took his leave after having visited the Mīrzā's (Sulaimān's) quarters. The latter went off to Kūlāb and shortly afterwards he—under pressure from wicked men who regard evil as good and good as evil—enlarged his wishes and raised a disturbance. He sent a message that Mīhr 'Alī, Cūcak and **442** Mīr 'Imād should be delivered up to him, or if M. Shāhrukh could not agree to this, that he should dismiss them from his presence. M. Shāhrukh swallowed the bitter draught, and agreed to the last proposition. They went off to Kabul with the thorns of failure in their feet, and Mīr 'Imād went into retirement. Meanwhile Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī, who was the sword and the intellect of the country, left M.Shāhrukh and joined M. Sulaimān. This increased the bad feeling, and it was not long before Mihr 'Ali returned from Kabul (text Zabūlistān) to M. Shāhrukh. As M. Sulaimān had suffered much opposition [1] from him formerly he sent a message to say that the surrender of Mihr 'Alī would be a proof of M. Shāhrukh's submission. The Mīrzā sent him along with Ḥājī Taman,[2] and M. Sulaimān made the latter his servant, and imprisoned Mihr 'Ali. He also sent S. Bābāī Wālī [3]—who under the disguise of a medicant's dress, was spinning snares—and represented that at the time of the agreement and the division of the country, Muḥammad Quli, Ḥājī Taman and Mihr 'Alī were of his (Shāhrukh's) party. It was proper now that his share (Sulaimān's) should be increased by Tālīqān and some territory (in order to support the retainers). M. Shāhrukh replied that the rules of humanity and graciousness required that the pleasant abode of unity should not be stained by the dust of the shameless and strife-mongering, and that M. Sulaimān should send back the set which had left him (Shāhrukh). M. Sulaimān did not agree to this and resolved on fighting. Shāhrukh too, from the intoxication of youth, and from not having any wise companion, went off. In Rustāq he halted, and made his petition, and had recourse to entreaties. He begged that no dust of conflict should be

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[1] The text has *pashimānī'*, "repentance," but I think the I.O. MS. reading "*beshimānī*, "boundless," is more likely to be correct. I am doubtful, however, and perhaps the Bib. Ind. text is correct. The meaning then would be that Sulaimān repented of the former discord.

[2] The Iqbālnāmā has Ṣaman.

[3] Walī in text.

raised, and that they should not give their enemies cause to rejoice. M. Sulaiman was nearly coming to terms, but strife-mongers did not allow him to do so, and there was a battle. Inasmuch as the breaking of compacts, and the non-acceptance of apologies are not auspicious, M. Sulaimān was defeated without a severe contest, and took refuge with the people of Ḥiṣār. M. Shāhrukh did not pursue and applied himself in some measure to the work of administration. He made over Kūlāb to his eldest son Muḥammad Zamān, and made Mihr Alī [1] his atālīq. He himself came to Qandūz. M. Sulaimān took help from Uzbeg Sulṭān, the ruler of Ḥiṣār, and proceeded towards Badakhshān. M. Shāhrukh also formed the design of fighting. He sent some active men ahead under the leadership of Qanghar, and gave battle with the assistance of the Kūlābīs. M .Sulaimān was defeated on this occasion also, and returned to Ḥiṣār. At this time the ambassadors of the Shāhinshāh arrived, and M. Shāhrukh's position became very strong. At the time when the august retinue had cast the shadow of justice over Zābulistān (Kabul) and M. Ḥakīm had been disgraced in the battle with the Prince (Murād), adroit and bold ambassadors were sent to M. Shāhrukh, who was agitating the chain of loyalty, to enquire after his health, and to tell him to come and do homage, or to send his mother, the Khānim. The Mīrzā expressed himself in submissive
443 language, and his affairs assumed a brighter aspect. The people of Ḥiṣār withdrew from supporting M. Sulaimān. But M. Shāhrukh did not, on account of the wickedness of his advisers, bring himself to wait upon H. M. But he was arranging to send his mother to make excuses when news came that H. M. was returning. Also his mother fell ill at this time. M. Sulaimān, having come to despair of the Ḥiṣārīāns, wished to do the work of an enemy under the guise of a friend, and came with some Uzbegs to Badakhshān. He brought forward proposals of peace. M. Shāhrukh accepted them, and it was agreed that each would pass over channels of the river to the place of the former compact, and that they would have a banquet of friendship, and make fresh treaties. M. Shāhrukh acted as he had said, M. Sulaimān did not cross, and sent a message that M. Shāhrukh should come over to his side of the river, and remove the dust

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[1] Apparently he had been released and had returned to Shāhrukh.

of doubleness (as apposed to unity). M. Shāhrukh understood his idea and turned his rein. At this time Mīrzā Shāhrukh's mother died, and all at once good counsels ceased. He fell into conceit and self-will. The condition of the army became bad. There was sport and play, and the peasantry fell into distress. M. Sulaimān went off to 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg, the ruler of Tūrān, in hopes that he might gain his ends. He had taken an army to Tāshkend, but his father Sikandar K.[1] received M. Sulaimān, and welcomed him with kindness. 'Abdullah K. on hearing this news had other thoughts and wrote that Sulaimān should be kept under surveillance until his arrival. The Mīrzā understood the matter and on a dark night took the road to Ḥīṣār. Some active men went with him, and by dint of courage he got away from that dangerous place. When 'Abdullah K. returned, he sent Qul Bābā,[2] his *vakīl* and general, to Uzbeg Sulṭān with the request that he would deliver up the Mīrzā. He observed the rights of kindness and sent off the Mīrzā to Badakhshān before Qul Bābā arrived. Sulaimān came, after failure, to Kūlāb via Qarātagīn. M. Shāhrukh came forward with submissive language and proposed to divide the country according to the former arrangement. M. Sulaimān had the dexterity (*pakhtakārī*) to refuse, and accepted *Kishm* as a fief. M. Shāhrukh, owing to the wine of conceit and a love of praise, only paid attention to the words, and did not try to read the lines of the forehead, nor did he distinguish friend from foe. In a short time the word-sellers had a daily market, and the right-thinking had to sit in a corner. Mīr 'Imād, Mīr Kalān, and Cūcak Beg took charge of the administration, and the office of Bakhshī (army payments) fell again to Yār Beg. Avarice and envy made these men foolish, and they were continually squabbling with one another. On account of the neglect of the lord of the country (or perhaps of the village-headmen) the avarice of his ministers, and the ignorance of his servants, there was great confusion in men's fiefs, and there was a brisk market for the sale[3] of villages, and the rank of folly became great. Kūlāb 444

[1] Or Iskandar. He died in 1583 (991) Vambery.

[2] His Kokal tāsh or foster-brother and governor of Herat. Vambery's Bokhara 292 and 296. Ābdullah's son Ābdu-l-mumīn put him to death.

[3] I have deviated from the text here, and adopted the reading of the

was given anew to Qādir Qulī Koka, Qundūz to Qūrcī Beg, Tālqān to ʻAbdu-r-Raḥmān, Ghori to Mīr Niẓam, Kahmard to Khanjar ʻAli, Andarāb to Laṭfī Koka, Rustāq to Mast ʻAlī and Baqlān to Sherbal. At such an inauspicious time ʻAbdullah K. saw his opportunity and came to Badakhshān, and conquered that strong country without a battle. He always had had an eye on the Mīrzās of Badakhshān, and when he learnt that they had not gone to the Shāhinshāh, and that they were quarrelling with one another, and neglecting the administration, he had recourse to violence. He sent a message that they should make over to him Ghorī and Kahmard, and should send the Aimāqs of Turān—who for a long time had lived in that country (Badakhshān)—to him. M. Shāhrukh made no reply, nor did he become more active. An idle report had been spread that the ruler of Tūrān was dead and that Qul Bābā was preferring these requests. M. Shāhrukh remained on this account in the profound slumber of indifference. In this state of affairs, while the hearts of the Mīrzās were bad, the forts unsupplied, the soldiers distressed, friends in obscurity, and enemies in the enjoyment of success, the active foe arrived. The Mīrzās fled to the defiles. Qūrcī Beg joined the enemy, and Qundūz, which is the pillar of the country, was lost without a battle. Similarly Sherbal and some other Badakhshān officers took the road of disloyalty, while many remained with their families, and restrained their people from service. The Kūlābīāns attached themselves to Muḥammad Zamān and stood firm. Whoever spends his time in sloth and in looking after his own comfort, and defers the good treatment of men to the day of calamity, will be left alone in the world of social life, and shall not receive help. The knitting together of hearts is produced by abundant attention in the time of prosperity. Those who are infatuated with the world do not open the door of warmth of affection until they have fallen into difficulty. Till then they keep the shops of gentleness closed! When the Mīrzās had brought things to such a pass, every one to whom they applied turned away. Being helpless they abandoned

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I.O. MSS. Instead of *bāzār khūd farosḥī u pāyā kharramī* of the text, and which means the "bazar of self-selling and the degree of pleasure," they have *dahfaroshī*, "the sale of villages," and *paya kharī*, "the rank of asinism."

the defiles of Badakhshān and came to Bahārak,[1] which is a rugged place and difficult of access. They thought their old servants would be eager to help them, but most of them did not come forward. On account of the excessive ice and snow, and the turning away of old friends, they could not remain there, and came to Panjshir, [2] which is a dependency of Kabul. Their idea was that if M. Ḥakīm helped them, they would try to recover their home. Otherwise they would seek protection at the court of the Shāhinshāh. From the time that M. Sulaimān had been exalted by doing homage at the holy thres-hold, and had sold the desire of conquering Badakhshān for a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, he had felt ashamed, and would not turn his face to the august court. M. Shāhrukh's wish was that he might unite himself to eternal dominion, and as in the time of his pros- 445
perity he had not behaved well to the Kābulīs, he wished to go to India by the hill-route and without seeing M. Ḥakīm. M. Ḥakīm sent for M. Sulaīman, and after treating him with respect sent him to the Lamghānāt, and assigned some villages to him there. Shāh Muḥammad M., the son [3] of Shahrukh, was with M. Sulaimān. M. Shāhrukh was arrested and made over to Shādmān Hazāra. He was to keep count of him (awāra sāzad) and not let him go to India. The Mīrzā with his three sons, the twins Ḥasan and Ḥusain, and Badī-z-zamān, their mother, and some servants, in all about thirty persons, remained in those hilly defiles of the Hazārjāt with a thousand [4] inconveniences and disgusts, and thought every day would be his last. By the wonders of destiny a report arose that Ābdullah K. had been defeated, and that the Kūlābians had been successful against him. The Hazāra (Shādmān), who had had other thoughts, took the road of hope and sent off the Mīrzā towards Badakhshān. Fearing lest that savage should change his mind, he, after marching some distance, went off to a pathless place, and after fighting his way through ravines rested in Kahmard. The rural population there gathered round him, and in a short time it appeared that the

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[1] In Badakhshān. But perhaps some place outside Badakhshān is meant, e.g. the Bazārak Pass. See J. II. 399, 400.

[2] Or Panjhīr, J. II. 411. It is N. of Kabul.

[3] I.O. MS. 236 does not call him the son of Shāhrukh. Shāh Muḥammad is mentioned again as being in the Khaibar caravan.

[4] A. F. puns on the word Hazāra, meaning both 1000 and a country.

above report (of 'Abdullah's death) was not true, and that the Kūlābiañs were shut up in the defiles. The Mīrzā went off to attack Tālqañ.[1] Meanwhile news came that Kūlāb had been taken and that an army had been sent to drive[2] forward the Aimāqs. His companions scattered and his condition became worse than before. He could not remain where he was, nor could he turn his face to go back. He was nearly falling into the hands of the enemy. With a thousand efforts he proceeded towards Kabul (the country, not the city) and he met M. Sulaimān in Sāl Aulang.[3] M. Ḥakīm had, on the strength of the same report (of the success of the Kūlābiāns), given him leave to go to Badakhshān. He was now waiting at this station for reinforcements. They now came to recognize one another's quality somewhat, and consulted about remedying[4] matters. Suddenly some Uzbegs raised the dust of commotion. About this time the birth of a son had caused M. Shāhrukh's countenance to shine. They left it with a country woman and went off in haste. Mihr Ālī, Qādir Bardī, Jahāngīr, Ulugh Beg and others were coming close behind them.[5] At dawn the Uzbegs arrived and dispersed to plunder the baggage. As fortune would have it, M. Sulaimān's steed[6] stumbled and he was thrown. M. Shāhrūkh dismounted and tendered his horse. That too ran off. One of the companions got off his horse and gave it and mounted M. Sulaimān, and M. Shāhrukh cleverly caught the

[1] *Batālkht.* There is also the reading *nāhiyat*, "towards," but the Iqbālnāmā has *batālkht.*

[2] That is, to drive the Aimāqs to Tranzoxiana. It seems that 'Abdullah claimed them as his subjects and demanded them back from the Mīrzās. We shall find later that 'Abdullah's son, 'Abdu-l-mumīn, excited Akbar's wrath by demanding the surrender of the Aimāqs from him.

[3] The Sāl Aulang of A.N. translation, p. 563, and the Saulah Aulang of Jarrett II. 400 n.l. It is N. of Kabul and between Panjhir and Ghorband.

[4] Text, "*becāra*," "helpless," but *cāragar* seems more likely, and is given in the variant and the I.O. MS. 236.

[5] *Dust u garīban mīāmadand.* They were faithful and were afterwards killed in the Khaibar. The baggage was with them and when the Uzbegs came up they proceeded to plunder this, and so the Mīrzās had time to escape (Iqbālnāma).

[6] *Takāwar*, "an ambling horse or mule." The Iqbālnāma makes it a mule.

runaway. As they were galloping, two roads appeared, and they separated. The enemy went after M. Shāhrukh. A river was in **446** front, and the Mīrzā crossed it and then broke down the bridge. He now breathed safely. His young son Ḥasan got separated during this hurry-scurry (*ravārav*) and thus Time inflicted a new wound. Just then the news came that M. Sūlaimān was in Alsai[1] and Najrāo. The Mīrzā joyfully went there and paid his respects. In this time of happiness, Siyūndak K. came from M. Ḥakīm and conveyed a message of friendship. As they were aware of his evil disposition, this was a new grief to them. They did not know that he had been rebuked by the sublime court for his conduct, and that he was sorry for what he had done. They did not believe his friendly message, and sent some persons along with the messenger in order to find out what was the upshot of the affair, and ascertain if the promises were valid. At this time a courier of Kuar Mān Singh made them hopeful of royal favours. M. Sulaimān, who was ashamed to go to court, and whose hopes were fixed on M. Ḥakīm, stayed where he was. M. Shahrūkh proceeded to the court. He left the mother of the twins and one son and some old followers (*bāb-urīān*) near Cārīkārān to search for the child who had been lost. He himself went off by the Dāman-i-Koh to Daka. A large caravan was waiting there and was in a state of alarm on account of the brigands. He chose their companionship. In the caravan were his aunt Khānzāda Khānim and Shāh Muhammad M. (his son). M. Ḥakīm had given them leave to go to India. The Mīrzā (Shāhrukh) by the connivance of Shāṭī Afghan proceeded by that difficult pass. In every bit they traversed, the narrow parts were

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[1] The text has در ایسا و بحرا dar Īsā u baḥrā. There are variants and I think the true reading is در السای و نجرا او dar Alsāī u Najrao. There are two Tumāns or districts in the N. and E. of Kabul, J. II. 411, and their names nearly agree with the reading in I.O. MS. 236 which has در السا و نحرا dar *Alsā u Naḥrā*. In Badayūni, Lowe 355, we have Asālū or Asā. We are told by A. F. that M. Sulaimān got lands in the Laghānāt from his son-in-law M. Ḥakīm, and this agrees with the positions of Alsāī and Najrao. See also J. II 407 and n.l. and 411. Niẓāmi-u-d-dīn mentions in the T.A.M.S. copy penes me, at the beginning of the 31st year, that M. Ḥākīm assigned Istālif to M. Sulaimān. But this must have been when he first came.

closed with stones by the wicked people of the rāvine. In the more difficult places the Tārīkīāns (the Raushānīs) blocked the path. Shāṭī out of craft sent Qanghar Bāī, Jahāngīr, Khanjar Āli, Yār Beg and Abdāl, each one of whom was the Rustum of the age, to that evil crew on pretence of giving a message, and had them treacherously slain. His idea was that night would throw its dark shadow, and then a difficult business would become easy. When a watch of day remained, something of the state of things became known, and they turned back from Āli Masjid. The Tārīkīān were emboldened and came out to fight. The consternation of the traders affected the soldiers and they lost courage. Life and property were plundered. M. Shāhrukh fought bravely. He fell from his horse, but by his efforts and the help of Khadang Beg he mounted again and once more performed masterpieces of bravery. His son Badī'u-zamān [1] fell from his horse, but by the help of Jān 'Āli got to the station. By dint of fighting he (Shāhrukh) got out of the ravine, and at the end of the night rested in Daka. In the morning he considered what he should do, and saw no protection except in the hills of
447 Badakhshān. At this time he learnt that M. Sulaimān was in the neighbourhood. He got some comfort by seeing him, but was grieved by the death of his newly-born son. The Aimāqs had loyally concealed him and cherished him. On the first occasion, when they (Shāhrukh and Sulaimān) were staying together in the Langhānāt he had sent for him, and had left him in the kind guardianship of M. Sulaimān. "A flower passed away from life, without fruiting." [2] M. Ḥakīm had sent M. Sulaimān to the Lamghānāt according to the former arrangement. At this time an army of M. Ḥakīm's arrived, and represented that an order had come from the Shāhinshāh's court to the effect that M. Shāhrukh should be escorted in a suitable manner, and that it had been nominated for this service. Though he was somewhat rejoiced at this good news, yet he did not believe in it much until they turned back after having traversed the Khaibar, and the officers, who were in the neighbourhood of the

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1 Slain by his younger brothers in the 18th year of Jahangīr's reign, 1623. B. 313, Tūzuk 360 and Iqbalnāma 203-04.

2 The MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have *bar ʾnachīda*, "without gathering fruit."

Indus, came forward with all respect. Kuar Mān Singh[1] regarded his coming as a great honour, and showed him fitting hospitality. From there he went forward with a tranquil mind and a glad heart. The news of the safety of the son who had been separated from him, also rejoiced him. He had fallen into the hands of an Uzbeg during the scrimmage (*dūa dū*) and on the occasion of the hurry-scurry (*ravārav*) the Uzbeg's eyes had fallen upon the baggage. He had left the child and gone hastily after the baggage. A slave was on the watch, and he took up the child and brought it to Sāl Aulang, and made it over to the mother whose heart had long been consumed with sorrow. When M. Shāhrukh crossed the Indus this good news was a happy presage to him. The fief-holders everywhere gave him a warm welcome, and when he came to Lahore, Rajah Bhagwant Dās held a great feast. He also accompanied[2] him on his journey. Prince Daniel was sent to receive him one stage from Fatḥpūr, and he was accompanied by many grandees. On 23 Dai,[3] 3 January 1585, he was exalted by doing homage, and there was a daily market of hospitality. As the world's lord reads the roll of the heart from the lines on the forehead, he perceived the characters of nobleness in the Mīrzā, and taking him by the hand of kindness, he showed him favour. The star of his fortune which had sunk rose again. Everyone of the faithful exiles, who had quaffed the bitter cup of adversity, gathered the bliss of prosperity.

If a profound glance[4] be given to all the Badakhshis it will appear that the pearl of pure intelligence has been removed from that

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[1] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 350 and T.A. beginning of 30th year (not translated in Elliot).

[2] Badayūnī, Lowe 352.

[3] *Niẓāmu-d-dīn* puts the arrival of Shāhrukh at Fatḥpūr into the 30th year, 993 A.H. See Elliot V. 447. Both he and Badayūnī state that Mān Singh's letter announcing the arrival of Shāhrukh at the Indus arrived on 1 Zī-l-q'ada 992-25 October 1584. If this date is correct, Shāhrukh must have travelled very slowly from the Indus, or he must have been some time at Fatḥpur before he was presented.

[4] These reflections are obscurely expressed and there is a word—*zamāne*—of which I do not see the force. The I.O. MSS. have *zamāna*, and it may be that this is the right reading and that it is in *iẓāfat* with Badakhshān and that the meaning is "That Badakhshī of the Age." Apparently what A. F. means is that if we look at the Badakhshīs, then Shāhrukh's removal from them was like removing a rare pearl from a

troubled land of indiscretion, and if a comparison be made with the far-sighted ones of the sublime court it will appear that simplicity has been transferred to the school of the acquisition of wisdom. Hail to the glorious fortune which at the time exerts itself in testing piety and in the knowledge of mankind! The raw material of the simple-minded here acquires a refined soul, and their countenances
448 are brightened by varied knowledge. The Mīrzā by the action of Fortune, which is the awakener of the slumbrous but well-intentioned, awoke from sleep and became possessed of auspiciousness, for by this lucky circumstance he obtained exaltation.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of M'aṣūm K. Kābuli. It has been related what happened to the army in Bhātī on account of selfishness and envy. Shahbāz K. spoke in a lofty manner and decided to go to court, and the Bihar officers, with the exception of Muḥibb Ālī K., abode in their estates. From prudential [1] motives 'Isā did not leave his home, but M'aṣūm, at his instigation, came to Sherpūr [2] and some rebels took possession of the country up to Māldah, twelve *kos* from Tānda. Though Wazīr K. had not the courage to rely upon the daily-increasing fortune and to resolve upon fighting, yet he stood firm and guarded that great city and many other places. The *sazāwals* by right behaviour and bitter speeches turned back Shahbāz K. and made the fief-holders of Bihar accompany him and act in unison. An order was issued to Shahbāz K. to the effect that if he wanted more troops, Rajah Todar Mal, Maṭṭālib K., S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār and many other able and zealous servants would be sent to him. He replied that he had plenty of troops and that his whole soul was set upon accomplishing the task. On 18 Dai, 28 December 1584, he entered Bengal and applied him-

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place where it was not appreciated, and if we look to the society into which he entered at Fatḥpūr, then it was the case of an honest simpleton coming into intellectual society. Jahāngir's account of Shāhrukh, Price 35, may be compared with the remarks of A. F. There is a good account of Sulaimān and Shāhrukh's wanderings in Noer's Akbar, translation II, pp. 121-29.

1 See Elliot VI. 77.

2 I think this is Sherpūr Feringhī in Bikrāmpūr, the Serrepore of Fitch. See B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 230 note, and Taylor's Topography of Dacca 108. Taylor says that Serripūr was destroyed by the Kirtīnāsa. Ap-

self to the conquest of Bhātī. On the banks of the Jamuna [1] he learnt that M'aṣūm K. had halted in Sherpūr,[2] and that he did not imagine that the imperialists would cross the river. Bewilderment [3] seized the brave men among the rebels and they fled without fighting. Shahbāz K. set himself to cross and to advance. The officers had no heart for this, but Rām Dās and Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah by skill and energy left no room for pretexts and sloth. Willing or unwilling, they had to cross the great river. When they came near the rebel, he fled in distress. Some prisoners were made and much booty obtained. Success unveiled her countenance. As it was not proper to leave the country unprotected and that all should follow the fugitives, and as most officers were not single-hearted, Shāhbāz K. wished to leava Ṣādiq K. and some others midway, and to advance in person with the rest of the troops. Men did not agree to this. At last, Shahbāz, Shāh Qūlī K., Maḥram and others stayed there, and Sāīd K., Wazir K., Ṣādiq K., Muḥibb Ālī K., Saiyid 'Ābdullah K. and others sent off on 8 Bahman. Rām Dās and Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah accompanied [4] them. They made such a march that when the enemy heard of their approach they evacuated the country, and the territory which had been lost was again taken possession of. Some booty was obtained and then the officers returned to Sherpūr.[5] By celestial aid the dust of dissension and the tumult of 449 rebellion were dispersed, and victory declared itself. The enemy was discomfited.

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parently it is the Feringhībazar of Rennel. E. Idārkpur.

[1] This is apparently the Ganges and not the Janai, or what is now known as the Brahmaputra. See I.G. VII. 134, old ed. The quotation from the Arāīsh-i Maḥfil, Elliot VI. 78n., is a paraphrase of a passage in the Ain.

[2] Apparently Sherpūr Feringhi or Feringhībazar.

[3] It appears from the I.O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. that this sentence is misplaced here. It should come in immediately after the words "the conquest of Bhātī." This seems to make better sense. The rebels fled on Shahbāz's approach and M'aṣūm was astonished, not thinking that Shahbāz would cross the river. It appears also from Elliot VI. 77 that the sentence in question occurs before the sentence which mentioned the Jamūna.

[4] The I.O. MSS. have *bāmīnī*, "in order to inspect," and the Iqbālnāmā has *bāmīnī u sāzawālī*.

[5] It is Sherpūr Murca in I.O. MSS. and also in Elliot VI. 77.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of Dastam Qāqshāl.[1] He was one of the ringleaders among the rebels. From men's want of courage and the concourse of base people he became powerful. At the time when the victorious army collected in Sherpūr,[2] M'aṣūm hurried off towards Fatḥābād[3] in the direction of Orissa. That vain-imagining[4] one remained in this neighbourhood (that of Sherpur). His idea was that in this way the imperialists would be split up into two forces, and that he might thus be successful. Before news came about M'aṣūm, Dastam increased his commotion at a distance of twelve kos from the imperial camp. Shāh Qūlī K. Maḥram, Muḥibb 'Alī K., Rajah Gopāl Dās, Mīrzāda 'Alī K., Khwāja Baqār[5] and other brave men went off to give him battle. Khwāja Muqīm[6] who had come there as a wāq'a-navīs (intelligencer or recorder) joined them as an[7] Āmīn. The news of coming of the battle-lovers robbed the enemy of firmness, and the officers pursued him to Shāhzādpūr[8] and then returned.

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[1] His death is mentioned later. A.N. III. 462.

[2] Apparently this is Sherpūr Ferīnghī, which seems to add a fourth to the Sherpūrs mentioned in J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 283 note. Perhaps, however, it is Sherpur Murca.

[3] Fatḥābād corresponds to Farīdpūr and part of Jessore etc. Fatiabas is marked on De Barros' map, J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 108, as a town in the direction of Orissa from Dacca.

[4] The Bib. Ind. makes a new clause after *shitāft* as if the vain-imagining one were Dastam, and I have translated the passage accordingly. But I am inclined to think that this is wrong. The vain-imagining one is probably M'aṣūm who went to Fatḥābād and remained there, thinking that this would lead to a division of the imperial forces (as indeed it did). Apparently Dastam advanced to within 12 kos of the imperial camp, in ignorance of M'aṣūm's flight. Presumably he came from the Ghoraghāt side where the Qāqshāls had their homes.

[5] The Iqbālnāma has Bāqar Anṣārī.

[6] I do not think this can be the father of Niẓāmu-d-dīn. The M'aaṣīr Raḥīmī MS. J.A.S.B. mentions a Khwāja Muqīm who was alive in 1024 or 1025, 1615 A.D. This could hardly be the man who was in service at the time of Bābur's death in 1530. Moreover the Iqbālnāma says he is now called Wazīr K. and has a manṣab of Rs. 2,000.

[7] The text has "with thirty men", but the variant *bamīnī* as an Amīn or in order to inspect, is supported by the I.O. MSS. and the Iqbālnama and must, I think, be right.

[8] The pargana meant is probably that in Sarkār Jinnatābād J. II. 121. There is also one in Bāqirganj, id.

One of the occurrences was that the victorious troops were divided into two bodies. Inasmuch as evil thoughts and selfish views turn wisdom into foolishness, and fill the ear of the understanding with the quicksilver of insouciance, the holy counsels (of Akbar) were of no avail. Shāhbāz K. was made furious by the evil thoughts of his companions, and lost moderation. Ṣādiq K. got disgusted with the work and gave vent to his feelings by his language. Though the officers had life-sacrificing courage, they did not possess along with it practical wisdom, so that they might carry on their king and master's work and lay aside selfish views, and regulate the feast of friendship. As they could not carry out their own designs, they indulged in wrath and destructive desires. They left the highroad of justice on one side and went on a pathless course. Though they used to bring the word "loyalty" on their lips, how shall[1] I write that they had no share of honesty? Apparently they had taken the usual share (of this quality) in this rose-garden of joy!

In the books of instruction composed by those who have chaunted the lay of loyalty, two classes are reckoned. First, there are those who choose singleheartedness (or Unity) when combined with their own advantage, and in this way raise higher the rank of their self-will. But though this class is separated somewhat from traffickers, yet the discerning do not give the name of singleheartedness to such slaves of selfishness, and do not attach value to their adhesion. The second class is that of the noble truth-seekers who keep their altruistic hearts filled with the light of love, and are pre-eminent among the chosen ones of the Creator. More wonderful still, the capital of **450** success comes in heaps to this class, as fodder for cattle comes[2] to the husbandman! Enough of many words and little substance! Those men (the officers) seized upon harsh language and severity at a time when gentleness was befitting.

134, but that seems too far east and south.

[1] The meaning is that though the officers had no right to be continually talking about loyalty, they were not altogether dishonest. They had apparently the ordinary share of it. The "rose-garden of joy" seems to mean Akbar's court, and A. F. says these men had as much loyalty as most of the courtiers had.

[2] I suppose this means that it comes spontaneously without effort. Artificial grasses are not, or at least were not, known in India.

At this time the commotion of M'aṣūm K. was discussed, and it was resolved that as the enemy was in two places, so the victorious soldiers should be divided into two armies, and address themselves to service. On 20 Bahman, about 1 March 1585, Wazīr K. Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ṣādiq K., Muḥibb 'Alī K., Rajah Gopāl Dās, Kīcak [1] Khwājah and others took upon themselves the task of defeating M'aṣūm K., and so separated. S'aīd K., Shahbāz K. Bahādur K., Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Mīrzāda 'Alī K. Bābūī Manklī, and Abā Bikr, and Ormaz the brothers of Tarson K., Timar Badakhshī, Shāh Qāsim and others remained where they were, and occupied themselves in putting down the evildoers in that quarter. The private disputes which occurred every day were at an end, and each body went off to do service.

One of the occurrences was that the ruler of Kashmīr sent his son to court. When Yūsuf K. saw himself cherished and exalted at court, he sent his eldest son Y'aqūb thither with the rarities of the country in order that he might gather bliss in the service of H.M., and also might be a reminder of himself in the august assemblage. On 29 Bahman, 9 February 1585, he arrived and performed the *kornish*, and became the [2] subject of favours.

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[1] Perhaps this is the Khwājah Kasak or Kīsāk whom Gulbadan Begam seems to refer to as a writer. Mem. translation. O.T.F. 163 and note.

[2] Ḥaidar Malik says, I.O. MS. 510, p. 185a, that Akbar was not pleased with Yūsuf for sending Y'aqūb. He said Yūsuf had not come himself, and had at first sent a boy (Ḥaidar) who was not fit for service, and then Y'aqūb who was not free of madness and wickedness. It was such language as this which led Y'aqūb to fly to Kashmīr after having been about two years in Akbar's court at Fatḥpūr.

CHAPTER LXXX.

Marriage of Prince Sulṭān Selīm.

Those who are awakened of heart and profoundly intelligent, never neglect five points, but regard them as the great methods of doing the will of God. The first is to regard man's corporeal frame as a Divine building and so to watch over it. They reform the wicked by severe language, and severe action, and by exiling and imprisoning them. Secondly, they guard the camp of wisdom from the strong gale of self-indulgence, and do not drop from their hands the proper measuring rod for the edification of their outer and inner nature. Thirdly, they control their desires—with which the issues of things in matters spiritual and temporal are bound up—and keep them in their proper place. Fourthly, they subject lust and wrath to wisdom, and do not prey upon men's honour. They treat high and low with respect, and so keep the garden of dominion verdant. Fifthly, in arranging marriages they are especially careful about race on both sides,[1] so that there may be good offspring. The effect of putting (good) seed into a saline soil illustrates the value of this precaution. God be praised. The sovereign of our **451** time has succeeded in every thing and has raised aloft the standard of achievement, especially in the matter of marriages! If, as in the case of those who have chosen celibacy, there be no marriages, then the great fountain-head of humanity shall become choked, and the stream of Divine benevolence shall sink into the sand. And if the jewel of equality be obscured, the limpid waters of life will soon become brackish. Hence it occurred to the holy heart that he ought to bring a jewel of chastity into the grasp of that star of the mansion of sovereignty—Prince Sulṭān Selīm—so that by this present there might be a fresh illumination of the hall of fortune.

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[1] The original contains the metaphor of a doubt thread, the meaning being that both bride and groom should be superior. The disquisition may be compared with the chapter on marriages in the Ain. B. 277.

At this time it was represented to H.M. that Rajah Bhagwān Dās Kacwāha, who held high office, and who had lofty lineage and abilities, had a daughter whose purity adorned her high extraction, and was endowed with beauty and graces; and that it was the wish of her family that she should be united to the prince. H.M. accepted their wish, and made a number of persons joyful. Experienced persons were appointed to make the arrangements, and in a short time the private and public hall (*daulatkẖāna*) was decorated. There were glorious feasts and assemblies, and there was a daily market of gifts. There were marriage presents and scattering of largesse according to the usages of the great. On 5 Isfandārmaẕ (about 16 Febuary 1584) H.M. and the principal men of the kingdom visited the Rajah's abode, and the marriage took place. On the same day the pure form was conveyed to the chamber of fortune, and the bridal night of joy was celebrated.

Verse.

Hail to State and Church, for this glorious wedding
Has taken place and given form to realm and religion.
In dominion's palace they have, for the light of the Shāh's eyes (Selīm),
Decked a bridal alcove like beauteous eyelashes.

My spiritually and physically elder brother S. Abū Faiẓ Faiẓī produced an ode, each line of which gave the date of this great event.

Verse.[1]

Hail to the pearl-scattering marriage of Sulṭan Selīm
Which gives glory to the year of hope,
By the fostering care of the sun [2] of Aquarius
There has come a conjunction of the moon [3] and Venus.

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1 Each of the four lines yields by *abjad* the date 9 9 3.

2 The sun enters Aquarius in February.

3 The moon is masculine with the Orientals. Badayūnī's account of the marriage, borrowed from Niẓāmu-ddīn, may be referred to; Lowe 352. The marriage was really "pearl scattering" according to Niẓāmu-ddīn, for the bride's father Bhagwān Dās scattered pearls and other jewels.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

The disgrace of Moẓaffar Gujarātī for the third time. 452

At this season, when the Age was in the flash of joy, and mortals were embracing delight, happy-footed couriers came from the province of Gujarat and conveyed the tidings of fresh victories. They raised a high tent for thanksgivings to God, and the tongue of the ruler [1] of the world uttered marriage-blessings. A wise man, who makes the increase of glory the adornment of supplication to God, and whose prudence increases from time to time in this season of the slipping of the foot of discretion, will assuredly be assisted by the celestial superintendents of affairs. The fortune of the Shāhinshāh tells of this, and this noble volume rehearses somewhat of it.

It has been mentioned that base and wicked men made the worthless Moẓaffar an instrument of turbulence, and now, in spite of abundance of men and money, he, time after time, failed and was struck with shame. It was now time that the hare-brained one should awake from his careless slumbers, but as selfishness deprived him of vision, and he considered what was his loss to be his gain, and as fortune had given him some worldly goods and had raised him up in order that he might become intoxicated and fall into the pit of disgrace, he foolishly imagined that these things were the materials of greatness. Many wished-for things come together also in the houses of tradesmen, but they are not the materials of power and grandeur. That is a ray from the Divine halo, and it comes not into the hands by striving.

Verse.

In the garden, the gourd lifts its head beside the cypress.
Such exaltation is but brief.
Between the cypress and the gourd the heavens know
Which head is worthy of sublimity.

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[1] I read with the I.O. MS. 236 *karkardār* instead of the *karkard* of text.

Many laudable qualities must unite in a son of man before he be fit for the diadem of ruler and be a suitable throne-occupant. I with my stammering tongue cannot enumerate them. But something may be said, and a sketch may be made. 1st, He must have sublime intelligence in order that he may understand the degrees of noble deeds, and may bring forth the Truth. 2nd, At the time of administering justice he must make no difference between relatives and strangers, between friends and foes, so that the oppressed who have neither force nor gold, may obtain redress, and that evildoers and oppressors may sit in the byelane of failure. 3rd, He must have God-given courage in order that the might of tyrants may not withhold him from doing justice, and that he may not be agitated in time of commotion. 4th, Laboriousness. In ruling the world he must not separate the night from the day, and not prefer ease to toil. 5th, Magnanimity. Silver and gold must have no weight in his heart's antechamber, and he must by liberality and largesse subdue to himself a mercenary world. 6th, A wide tolerance, so that he endure the disagreeables of fortune with an open brow, and he not led by failure into the narrownesses of grief. 7th, Differences in religion must not withhold him from his duty of watching, and all classes of men must have repose, so
453 that the shadow of God may confer glory. 8th, Increasing Love. He must be grieved by men's distresses, and endeavour by kindness to remove them, so that the refractory and crooked in their ways may bind the burden of obedience upon their shoulders, and that the dust of doubleness may be swept from the pleasant hall of his dominions. 9th, He must bring choice deliberation to bear upon his work and do well what is proper for the time, so that the thornbrake of evil may be rooted out, and the troubled house of the world have repose. 10th, Little passion. He must cast away unfitting desires, and not depart from wisdom, so that wrath may not prevail, and daily-increasing Fortune may show her countenance. 11th, He must take opinions, and not rely on his own knowledge and perception. He must inquire of the able. He must not disclose his secrets to every one, and let him not incur[1] the reprobation of the acute and right thinking, so that loss of Fortune may not accrue to him, but happiness be always

[1] The meaning of this clause is not clear.

conspicuous. 12th, Hatred of sequacity (*taqlīd*). Let the love of inquiry always precede his actions, and the cult of proof be his method, so that he may not be moved from his course by perceiving the view of a multitude, and may not by altercation be made impatient of research.

In fine, as Moẓaffar had no part or lot in these qualities, and abundance of desires had made him silly, he did not turn his rein, though his brainless head had twice struck against the stone of ruin, but increased in turbulence. He opened out the collections of treasure, and made a great show. Fly-like slaves of gold gathered round him and he went to the town of Gondal [1] fifteen *kos* from Jūnagarh and stirred up strife. He made friendship with Amīn K.[2] Ghorī and the Jām. The landowners took money on pretences, and were always meditating some other purpose. That wicked man (Moẓaffar) had seated himself in the ambush of opportunity. When the victorious troops returned, and the receipts [3] of the fief-holders became less on account of the disturbances, and there was some disorganization, the turbulent fellow saw that his time had come and stirred up the dust of dissension. The Khān-khānān left Qulīj K. along with some able servants in charge of Aḥmadābād, and appointed two armies, each to go in a different direction. Medinī Rai, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Saiyid Lād, Saiyid Bahādur, Kāmrān Beg, Rām Cand, Udai Singh, Khwājam Bardi, and others were left in the village of Hadāla [4] seven *kos* from Dandūqa-Mīyān [5] Bahādur; Maḥmūd Sabzawārī, S. Muḥammad Haravī, Mīr Muḥibb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn, Bunyād Beg, Bhūpati Rai, were left in Parāntī,[6] eight *kos* from the city; and Saiyid Qāsim and the Saiyids of Bārha were left in Pattan. He himself set off on 12 Āẕar, 22 November,

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[1] Gondal, capital of the Gondal State and N.-E. Jūnāgarh.

[2] Son of Tātār K. and consequently grandson of Sulṭān 'Alāū-d-dīn (M. Sikandarī). The Jām is apparently Satarsāl of the family of the Rajah of Jhalāwār. Elliot V. 538. But it seems that a Jhalāwār Rajah was driven out and migrated to Kac and founded Nawānagar. See J. II. 250.

[3] The M. Aḥmadī says that little could be obtained from the fiefs, and consequently the sepoys did not get paid.

[4] 20 m. N.E. Dandūqa. Elliot V. 439.

[5] Corrected in errata from Biyān.

[6] Text Berāhi (!). Parāntī is 30 m. N. Aḥmadābād (Elliot). The Parrantaje of Bayley's map.

1584, in company with Naurang K., Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and other brave men to chastise Moẓaffar. He was in Morbī, and was waiting for the landholders (lit. was keeping his eye on the road 454
of the zamindārs). He was sending evil men in every direction to collect funds, and he caused Rādhanpūr [1] to be plundered.

At this time Moẓaffar became distracted by the news of the approach of the imperial army. He went off to Kharārī [2] (?) and Rājūt [3] Kot, which is a large city in Kāthīwār. The Khān-khānān left his camp behind him and went on rapidly. From Bīramgāon [4] to Kharārī there was no cultivation for sixty *kos*, and the warriors had to carry their provisions with them. Moẓaffar was unable to make a stand anywhere, and went off to the mountains of Barda.[5] These are high mountains near the ocean. They are thirty *kos* long and ten broad, are well-watered, and produce abundance of wild fruits. Dwārka [6] lies twenty *kos* to the north of them. The imperialists established themselves in that country. On perceiving this, the landholders came forward in a supplicating manner. They represented that the ill-fated one had come there of his own accord, that they were not in league with him, and that they were loyal. Amīn K. Ghorī agreed that he would send his own son to serve. Mīr Abū Turāb went and brought the son, and the nursling of his (Amīn Ghori's) wishes was fostered. The agents of the Jām represented that Moẓaffar was behaving presumptuously forty *kos* away, and that if some active men were appointed, he would assuredly

[1] Capital of Rādhanpūr State near the Rann and W. Pattan.

[2] Perhaps the Kharaghora of Bayley's map, west of Veerumgāon, i.e. Bīramgāon. More probably however it is the Garidharī of J. II. 258 as there is the variant there of Kararī Dhararī. It is the Gariadhar of Bayley's map, apparently, and is in South Kāthīwār, in the district of Halaria. I. G. XIII. 94.

[3] Rājkot, capital of the State of that name.

[4] Paramgāon in Elliot 438, but it is Bīramgāon in Bayley and the Veerumgāon of his map. It lies W.N.W. Aḥmadābād and not east as stated in Elliot. See also J. II. 242.

[5] Text Barra. See J. II. 248 and note 3. They are near Porbandar and 12—18 m. from the coast. The highest point of the cluster is Venu, 1730 ft. (I. G. VI. 431), but in account of Nawānagar *id.* XVIII. 419, Mount Venu is said to be 2057 feet above the sea!

[6] J. II. 248. It is really W. N. W. of the Bardā hills.

be captured. The Khān-khānān set out rapidly in pursuit of him, but no trace of him could be found. It was stated that he had gone from that quarter to the hill-country of Bardā. The Khān-khānān divided the army into four[1] bands. One was put under Naurang K., another under Niẓāmu-d dīn Aḥmad, another was under Daulat K. Lodī. Each band entered a corner of the country. The Rājputs there fought stubbornly and played away their lives. That fertile country was plundered, and abundance of booty was obtained. Though no trace could be found of the wretch, yet the fraud[2] and tricks of the Jām were discovered. It appeared that Moẓaffar had gone to the Jām's country, had left his son with him, and gone off towards Aḥmadābad. The Khān-khānān paid no regard to this move, and addressed himself to the chastisement of the Jām. He too, thinking that the imperial army would be confused on hearing of the departure of Moẓaffar, collected daring men and advanced. After proceeding four *kos* he awoke from the heavy slumber of self-conceit, and came forward with protestations and fawnings. By the intervention of Rai Durgā and Kalyān Rai his wishes were accepted. He sent his son Jaisā, the elephant Sherza, and other presents, and entered into the shelter of good service. The Khān-khānān returned from within ten kos of Nawānagar,[3] which was his (the Jām's) residence, and hastened to Aḥmadā- **455**
bād. There were rejoicings in Morbī on account of the report of the victory of the imperialists and the flight of the rebel. The latter by the help of the collusion of the landholders came to Aḥmadabād, and a number of wicked mercenaries were collected. The troops which were in Hadāla[4] united with those in Parānti.[5] The other fief-holders also prepared for war. The presumptuous one, from apprehension[6] that the forces would unite and make

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[1] Only three columns are named. Perhaps the 4th was that commanded by the Khān-khānan in person.

[2] Cf. Elliot V. 439.

[3] M. Kāthiawār, I. G. XVIII. 421.

[4] Elliot, V. 439.

Parantī appears to be the Parāntīj of the I.G. XIX. 408. It is 35 miles N.N.E. of Aḥmadābād.

[6] The word is andesha, fear or apprehension, but it appears to me now more probable that the word is used here to mean expectation. It is used in this sense at p. 462, line 12. Moẓaffar thought that the troops at Parāntī and Hadāla would join

his position difficult, came near Parāntī. The imperial servants drew up their forces. Madan Cohān, Rām Cand, Udai Singh, Saiyid Lād, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid Shah 'Alī, Bhupat Deccanī, Gīsū Dās Rāthor, Bāgha Rāthor, and others of the vanguard performed masterpieces of valour. Khwajam Bardī and other brave men of the centre joined in the fighting. Moẓaffar fled, and though many of the victorious troops were wounded, yet the leaders of the enemy, such as Qurbān 'Alī Bihāragī, S. 'Abdullah, Ṣāliḥ Mīānā, Tamtam Ḥusain, and Gadā Beg, were killed. By the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh a great victory[1] was gained. Some of the rebels were killed, and some sent into obscurity, the commotion subsided, and the world's lord on receiving the joyful news increased his devotion and his justice, and added another good omen[2] to the glory of the marriage (Selīm's).

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him, and so he marched in that direction. Morbī, which is mentioned at p. 455 of text as the scene of rejoicings, is the Morvī of the I.G. XVIII. 4, and is the capital of a state of that name in Kāthīāwār.

[1] Cf. Elliot V. 439.

[2] The victories occurred before the marriage, but the news apparently arrived after that had taken place.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

BEGINNING OF THE 30TH YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, VIZ. THE YEAR SHAHRIYŪR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

At this time of joy when the nuptial banquet was full of delights, the variegated spring illuminated the countenance of the age. The garden of dominion acquired new freshness.

Verse.

'Tis the glorious feast of Farwardīn,
The market-day of the rose and the *nasrīn* (wild-rose).
What lacks the world for the nuptials?
The soul is light and the dower is heavy.

After the lapse of six hours and fifty-seven minutes the light-increaser of the nine heavens cast his rays on the mansion of Aries on the night of Thursday, 19 Rabī'-al-awwal 993, 10 or 11 March 1585. Piety was made brilliant by the embroidery of joy, and there was a new palace of liberality. At the beginning of this august feast the officers of Berār were exalted by doing homage, and obtained princely favours. Berār is one of the southern countries. **456** An account of it has been given in the final volume (the Āīn). It was in the possession of Martaẓā Naẓāmu-l-Mulk. From lust[1] and bad companionship he departed from his proper work, and applied himself to the holy service of the spirits. This is a fearful task, and one hardly to be executed by the emancipated ones of purity under the guidance of those who have made the journey. How then can it be accomplished by those whose feet are caught in the skirts of wickedness? In a short time the shining jewel of wisdom fell into the dark ravine of madness, and realm and religion were endamaged. He became disgusted with external things and confined himself to

[1] A. F. here repeats what he had said at p. 407.

communications by writing. Mercenary men took advantage of him and made him an ensample of madness. Ṣalābat K. Carkas (Circassian) obtained sway over his insane disposition, and ruled the kingdom. He set about ruining the fief-holders of Berār. Mīr Martaẓa[1] Sabzawārī, who was the head of that body of men, together with Khudāwand[2] K. Mashhadī, Jamshed K. Shīrāzī, Canda K. Deccanī, Sher K. Nohānī and others, collected troops and hastened to Aḥmadnagar. He (Ṣalābat), under the leadership of Niẓāmu-l Mulk's son, did battle with them. Many fell on both sides, but at last the Berārīāns were defeated, and Jamshed K. was made prisoner. They lost much property, and had no more the power to remain in the country and so turned the face of entreaty to this eternal dominion (Akbar's). The officers of the borders kept them back and represented the case to the august court. An order was issued to the effect that "our court is open to mankind, whoever is helpless and takes refuge there will obtain his desires." At this auspicious time they arrived, and brightened the blackness of their fate. They received various favours, and obtained high office and fertile *jagīrs*. Every day there was a fresh feast, and the records of the Age were filled with eulogy. One of the great officers begged that the daily[3] increasing fortune would deign to adorn the feast. The sovereign, the granter of desires,—who is the joy-giver of the spiritual spring, —filled the place with light by his advent.

Verse.

The Shāh sits on the throne and indulges in pleasantry,
His heart seeks wisdom, and listens to cleverness.

On the day of Farwardīn (19th Farwardīn) the world's lord celebrated the feast of the sun's exaltation (*sharf*), and implored blessings from the incomparable God.

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[1] B. 449.

[2] He afterwards married A.F.'s sister. See Badayūnī, Lowe 384.

B. 449. See also Darbārī Akbarī 721. Cf. also Elliott V. 441 and 448 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 354.

[3] A nobleman had the charge of each day's feast, and the meaning here seems to be that he begged Akbar to be present.

Verse.

May his name abide for ever.
May his glory be always like Jupiter (?).
From him I got a good name in the world.
May there be a good fulfilment to him from the world.

During this great festival good servants were exalted by the increase of their rank. Shīhābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. obtained the government of Mālwa. Rajah Bhagwant Dās was made a Panjhazārī 457
(5000), Rajah Todar Mal a Cārhazārī (4000), Zain K. Koka and Mīr Yūsuf K. 2500, 'Abdul Maṭṭālib K. 1500, Rajah Askaran 1000, Ḥakīm Abu l-fatḥ 800, S. Farīd 700, Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn 600, Burhān-al-mulk 500. The writer of the noble volume was, without his having given any proof of service, exalted to the rank of a Hazārī (1000). I hope that good service will show itself and vindicate the discernment of the world's lord! All the commanders were distinguished by great favours. Also at this time Amīr Fatḥ Ullah Shīrāzī was made Âmīn-al-Mulk, and an order was issued that Rajah Todar Mal should conduct the financial and administrative officers of the empire according to the Mīr's counsels, and that he (the Mīr) should bring to a conclusion the old transactions which had not been examined since the days of Moẓaffar K. He was to report to H.M. what occurred to his far-reaching intellect. The Mīr addressed himself to this important duty with an open mind, and in order to facilitate his proceedings, he submitted certain propositions (*faṣle*), and made the exquisite replies thereto his guide. For the sake of information I have given them textually.

Firstly.—The accountants have not rendered clear statements, and have not observed the sacred regulations. They have based this business—which rests upon inquiry and investigation—on conjecture and approximations. In the year when the whole empire became crown-land (*khālṣa*), the officers, on account of excessive work, could not go to the bottom [1] of the business and wrote down large sums as

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[1] Text *jazū* a part. The MSS. are not clear, but none of them seems to have *jazū*. I think that the word is probably *jarr* in the sense of "bottom, foundation." Possibly the word is baḥr, for this word, which means ocean, is used in a phrase for "getting at the bottom of things." However jazū or jaz is right and means that they could not go into details.

arrears. They decided the matter upon the fifth [1] or sixth share of the produce. The cunning got the joy of their hearts, while the honest fell into soul-exhausting trouble. Those who had gone a little astray were kept back from paying by the enormity of the demand. If accounting were done according to knowledge, the former inconveniences would cease. *Secondly*.—It was a regulation that the collectors of revenue should give receipts (*yāfta*) to the ryots and that they should make a list, and that the clerks should base their accounts thereon. Now, that arrangement (*serishta*) has been given up (lit. has gone from the hand), and whatever the khālṣa-collectors write in the names of the cultivators, and which they make the cloak of their embezzlements, is accepted. It is right that in future the two documents [2] above named should be used *Thirdly*.—The accounts are made up according to a perfect year (*sāl* [3]*-i-kāmal*) or according to *krorbandī* [4] papers which have been written by hasty and inconsi-

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[1] The words "fifth and sixth share", *panjam u shashm bakhsh*, occur in the Āīn in the chapter on the currency of the means of subsistence (with the difference of *tā* instead of *u*), and are translated by Colonel Jarrett II. 57. "The 5th or 6th produce of the soil." A. F. is there treating of tribute, or revenue, and he says that one kind is *maqāsamah* (divided) and is the 5th or 6th share of the produce.

Probably A. F. here means that the accountants reckoned the produce on the demand (here called *baqāya*, i.e. balances on arrears) at a very high figure and then demanded one-fifth and one-sixth thereof.

[2] *Sanad*. In B. 259 a *sanad* is defined as "a written statement of accounts."

[3] A year, I presume, in which there was no loss of crops. A "sixteen-anna year," as it is sometimes called.

In the account of the ten years' settlement, Aīn, Persian text I, pp. 347, 348, we have on p. 348, line 5, the phrase *harsāl jins-i-kāmal*. This is translated in J. II, 88 by "the year of the most abundant harvest. The whole sentence there is: "The best crops were taken into account in each year, and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted, as the table shows." Apparently, it was this system, which was begun on the 24th or 25th year, that caused Fatḥ Ullah to object. See also J. II, 45, and note, where *jins kāmal* is used to mean superior kinds of produce.

[4] Cf. Badayūni, Lowe 192. 'The country was divided into tracts, each of which was reckoned equal to producing a kror of *tankas*. Badayūni says many krorīs died in prison.

derate persons. In consequence of this many have been imprisoned. The just course would be to base the demand, simply and honestly, on a series of years (*paiwasta*[1] *sāl*). *Fourthly.*—Owing to the somnolence of the collectors, the agents (*gomāstagān*) have been powerful and have robbed[2] the cultivator.

The Patwārī rejects from his accounts (*qarār wāq'a*) private[3] documents and vouchers—commonly known as "crude papers" (*kāghaz*[4]*-i-khām*). The proper course is that whatever appears in them should be entered in his name and he should be responsible for the contents. If he (the *patwārī*, or perhaps the collector) does not produce what his agents have taken, he should be obliged to refund

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[1] I do not feel sure of the meaning of this expression. I think it is explained by the directions to the Bitikcī at J. II. 47 where his duty is stated to be to take from the qānūngo the average decennial state of the village. The original words are, I. 288, *mūāzana-i-dahsāla.*

[2] Badayūnī, Lowe, 274. Fatḥ Ullah's words justify Badayūnī's remarks.

[3] *Nigashtahāī mukhaṣṣiṣ u qābiz. Mukhaṣṣiṣ* is explained in Steingass as "one who appropriates," and the allied word مستخاصہ *mukhāṣa* is given in Wilson 352*b* as having the technical meaning of land assigned to an individual at a quit-rent. There is also the word مقاصہ muqāṣa which has no connection however with *mukhāṣa*, but means the balancing of accounts. In Steingass this is spelt with a *ṣwād* مقاصہ, but in the Ain, B. 263, the end of Ain 11, it is spelt *muqāsa*, and is explained as meaning statements of accounts taken by taḥwīldārs from the mustaufī. It was a word much used by the Mahrattas, Grant Duff I. 455 and note. In the text the word *mukhaṣṣiṣ* seems to mean private, unauthenticated papers. *Qābiz* also has perhaps a technical meaning: see Carnegy, Cutcherry Technicalities, s. v. *ḳabz*. But here, I think, it used to mean private papers, what in Bengal are called *gharao kāghaz*, "home-made papers."

[4] This means in the Ain I. 286, 6 lines from foot, "unofficial documents." J. II. 45. Khām also has a technical meaning in revenue language, viz. a settlement made directly with the cultivator. The word *qarār-wāqā*, which I have translated accounts, seems to be synonymous with *qarārnāma* which is used at B. 263 and explained to mean "the revenue-collections of the collectors on account of the ryots." Apparently what Fatḥ Ullah is reprobating is the practice of the inferior agents taking rent from the ryots, and then the patwari not giving the latter credit for such payments on the ground that they are not entered in the official accounts. See the chapters about the duty of the collector et cetera, J. II. 43 *et seq*.

it. Otherwise the oppressor will escape from his obligations. Whatever stands in the names of extortionate persons, such as qānūngoes,[1] maqaddams[2] and pākārs,[3] should be accounted for by such individuals. 458 *Fifthly.*—Any over-plus which in this way is brought to light should be credited to the arrears due by the ryot, name by name, or should be carried to account in the next year, and there should be no second demand for it, nor should it be again demanded from the collector. And as the computers of the current revenue (*siyāq navīsān-i-ḥāl*) demand village expenses (*malba*)[4] which in clerical phraseology are termed *istiṣwābī*[5] and *akhrājāt*, this also should be deducted from the demand. *Sixthly.*—The fluctuations of cultivation are apparent to every one. If in a village some land fall out of cultivation, one endeavours to increase cultivation elsewhere. Similarly, if a crop be lost or damaged, compensation for this should be sought elsewhere. The accountants[6] (*ahl-sīyāq*) look only to the diminution and tighten[7] the load of the demand. If they would look to the total assessment, the ryots would be relieved. *Seventhly.*—The *mastaufi* (auditor) holds in deposit one-fourth of the collectors (salary) for the purpose of clearing off arrears. If the arrears result from desertion or contumacy of tenants, and the efforts of the collector are without avail, or if they are the result of his having been untimely removed,[8] they are not due to

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1 See Wilson's Glossary.

2 The headman of a village.

3 More commonly paikār, and meaning a middleman, or a sub-collector.

4 Text منبه *manba*, but the variant *malba* is right. See Wilson's Glossary where it is spelt malbā. The word literally means sweepings. It appears under the form *malwa* in the account of the settlement of Rājnagar. See my history of Bāqirganj, 100.

5 The word means reference and inquiry and also a legitimate demand.

6 Apparently the meaning is that the office-men, who are at headquarters, only take into account the fact that a certain amount of land has fallen out of cultivation, and charge rent for it, whereas if they would look to the total they would see that they should not charge for this as well as for the land which has been cultivated in lieu of it. See J. II. 44, where the collector is enjoined only to charge for land in actual cultivation.

7 *bar-ī khwāhish gushāīnd.* We should read *kashāīnd*. The metaphor seems to be taken from loading a beast of burden.

8 Text *nā bahangām*, but in the I.O. MSS. it is *tā hangām*.

his fault. If there have been remissness in making demands that reason[1] should be entered on the arrears, on condition that the arrear appear in the revenue-roll.[2] *Eighthly.*—Some persons are occasionally appointed to assist[3] the collector, and their pay is allowed to them for a fixed time. Sometimes, they remain longer and draw their pay for that time, but no such allowance is made to the collector. If their being kept on be necessary, he should be allowed the expense thereof, and the circumstance be reported.

Ninthly.—It would also be just if the (cost of) calling[4] for the accounts of the former collector and his subordinates were allowed among his expenses.

Tenthly.—After the collectors have been removed, they remain in the *pargana* for the purpose of collecting the arrears. If their pay for that time and for the period before the notification of dismissal has reached them and for the period of travelling (to court) be allowed among their expenses, it would be just. *Eleventhly.*—If the collector's pay, and that of the branding officers, be allowed, after they have been removed, for the period that they are on duty at court, and be included in the amount credited to them under the countersignature of the record-keepers of the attendances (*caukī-navīsān*), this would be a relief to them. *Twelfthly.*—Sometimes the pay of the auxiliaries (*kumākīān*)[5] has been entered as payable from the arrears left by a former incumbent; and on account of the ryots being non-existent, or not acknowledging the *debt*, or of their contumacy, these arrears have not been realized. If the collector shall, owing to the contrivance (*kārsāzī*) of that set (the auxiliaries), have paid the wages, he should get credit for them. *Thirteenthly.*—Officers are arrested because they have not submitted reports. They reply that they did submit reports to the court and got no answer. If the registrars (*wāq'anavīsān*) would look after this department and would make over the replies to the collectors' agents, such defences

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[1] *Wajh.* It sometimes means "pay," and this may be the meaning here. See B. 260 n. 3.

[2] *Taujīh.* It appears from B. 260 that *taujīh* has also the special meaning of military accounts. The meaning here is obscure.

[3] *Bakamak*: these are the kumākīāns, or auxiliaries, mentioned lower down.

[4] Ṭalab-ḥiṣābī. Perhaps ṭalab here means salaries.

[5] See B. 232.

would be impossible. *Fourteenthly*.—It would be a comfort to the collector if he got half his pay [1] by assignment.

Fifteenthly.—For the purpose of the work of collection footmen (*piādas*) should be given, equal in number to the troopers, or to the half thereof. If it is indispensable that the former collector be kept under surveillance, respectable men should be appointed to guard him(?). *Sixteenthly*.—Great profit accrues to the Qānūngoes. If a man [2] from each *pargana* remain at court, assuredly there will be more enlightenment on this subject.

Seventeenthly.—The pargana treasurers have to make large
459 advances.[3] Some able and upright men should be appointed to carry on this work. *Eighteenthly*.—The statements of arrears made by former collectors should not be acquiesced in without scrutiny.[4] *Nineteenthly*.—Whoever [5] keeps his fief in a good state by attending to the distribution of corn at a time when other estates are suffering loss and are in a bad condition, should, when there is a question of

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[1] *Nīma-i-āznās*. I believe the word to be *arnās* or *arinās*, lit. destruction of enemies. Here I think it means salary. See B. 250 and R.A.S.J. for January, 1904, p. 167.

[2] Perhaps the meaning is that if a *qānūngo* from each pargana be brought to court. See J. II. 66 about the *qānūngo*.

[3] *Dādanī*, i.e. advances to the ryots. See J. II. 45, where the collector is enjoined to make loans to needy husbandmen.

[4] Cf. J. II. 44: "He should take into account with discrimination the engagements of former collectors."

[5] This is an obscure sentence, and there is one word "*sarasarī*" which I have had to leave untranslated. In the text it is joined with *ghalla balkhsh* by an *'izāfat*, but on the I.O. MSS. there is a conjunction "*u*" between the two words. *Sarāsari* or *Sarsarī* is used to mean summary, and was applied to summary suits. It also means "average or medium," but neither of these meanings is applicable here. Wilson's Glossary gives Sarāsarī-sharai as meaning the average proportion of the crop set apart for the village officers and servants, and probably something of the kind is meant here. The phrase "*ābād gardānid*" probably means developing estates by increasing the number of tenants, or by improving their condition rather than developing its material condition by raising more crops. At p. 286 line 9 of the Persian text of the Āīn, Vol. I, the word *ghalla-bakhsh* is used to mean "corn bearing." (See J. II. 44 last line). Perhaps then the phrase *ghalla balkhsh-i-sarasarī* may mean "the average production of corn." It should be noted that I.O. MS. 236 has *yā mulāḥaẓa* instead of bā mulāḥaẓa.

increasing [1] the revenue, have such increase applied to the augmentation of his rank and allowances.

Twentiethly.—A soldier's horse dies, and he immediately buys another, and produces a correct descriptive roll of it; or sometimes he gets a new horse after two years and more. In the first case the soldier suffers loss, and in the second the king's property is injured. Also on account of the distance he cannot [2] bring the animal to be branded. If his pay be deducted from the date when he ceased to have a horse it will be hard. If they transfer the *aznās* [3] to the new horse, and so do not make a deduction from his pay, he will be relieved.

As these remarks had been written with a good intention and from right-thinking, they were accepted. The old accounts were put into order, and by the labours of this wise man the tribunal of the vizier become a house of delight for the public.

One of the occurrences was the discomfiture of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī. Though, owing to evil ideas and selfish motives, there had been dissension among the imperial officers, and for a time the rebels had been successful, yet as there was the aid of heaven, and there was daily-increasing fortune, the rebels fell into dismay. M'aṣūm hastened off to the place which has been mentioned,[4] and on account of confusion of plans and the tidings of the approach of the victorious army, he was unable to achieve any success. He chose a strong position and proceeded to build forts. At the place Tirmohinī,[5] where the Ganges, Jumna and Sāknī join, he

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The meaning then of the sentence may be, 'Whoever develops his estate, and an increase (of cultivators) is perceived on examining the average condition of his crops as compared with those of others, he should have an increased holding.'

[1] *Taufīr*. In Bengal applied to increase of land by alluviation. Here it seems to mean increase of demand of revenue.

[2] Text *niyārad*, but MSS. have *niyārast*.

[3] Here we have this curious word again. See note 5. The *arnās* was a donation, apparently it applied to the grant of half the cost of a trooper's horse, and probably what is meant here is that the donation or allowance should be transferred from the dead horse to the one bought in lieu thereof.

[4] Fatḥābād, and in the direction of Orissa, A.N. III. 449. According to Mr. Long, the banks of the Saraswatī at the Hooghly Tribenī formed the ancient boundary of Orissa.

[5] Text ترمعهاني. Apparently the

laid the foundations of two forts.[1] He left there Beg Muḥammad, Ulugh Beg and some evildoers as also some Zamīndārs. He designed that they should be his bulwark (*band*), and he himself took a lower place (*pastarak*) The officers prepared for battle. ʻĪsā sent able men and made supplications. As he did not show signs of penitence, they did not give ear to his overtures and addressed themselves to the taking on the forts. There were severe engagements, and every time the enemy ran away in large numbers. On 21 Farwardīn the victorious army arranged a naval battle. In a short time one of the forts was taken, and at dawn they broke down the other and proceeded against Mʻaṣūm. He could not resist them and took to the river. From the tumult of the rebels and the force of the river his boat was sunk, and a few escaped, half-dead, to land. A second time was he discomfited, and the imperial servants offered up thanksgivings.

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word should be Tirmohinī, which, I presume, is another form of Tribenī, mohinī, that is, enchantment, standing for a lock or braid of hair. I think that the Tirmohinī must be Tribenī in the Hooghly district, and which is on the Bhagirathī. It is a well-known place of pilgrimage, and is considered to be the place where the Ganges, Jumna and Saraswatī join. The Sāknī of the text is probably Shaktī, i.e. power, and another name for the Saraswatī, which was regarded as the power of Brahma. There are two Tribenīs, one at Allahabad, and another near Hooghly, and are distinguished as the Yūktabenī, or united braid, and the Muktabenī or free braid. See the Rev. Mr. Long's article in the *Calcutta Review* for December 1846. A. F. mentions a third Tribenī near Qāẓīhatta in Sirkār Barbakābād. For Qāẓīhatta see Blochmann J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 221. It is in the Rajshaye district below Rāmpūr Bauleah. For the Qāẓīhatta Tribeni see J. II. 120 and the Addenda and Corrigenda, also the Persian text I. 388. There is a place in the Jessore district called Trimohinī (see I.G.) but it does not fulfil the conditions of the meeting of the three rivers. The paragraph about Mʻaṣūm is translated by Prof. Dowson, Elliot VI. 78, and he quotes in a note a passage from the Arāīsh Mahfil in which the meeting of the three streams is represented as occurring some leagues below Dacca. Apparently this passage is founded on the passage on the Aīn, but the author of the Arāīsh Mahfil corrects it in the next sentence. See Major Court's translation pp. 60, 61 where Sātgāon should be read for Chātgāon.

[1] The text does not say two forts, but all the MSS. seem to do so: see Elliot l.c.; and the text requires the word for two, as a little lower down there is a reference to two forts having been taken.

One of the occurrences was the punishment of Tarkhān dīwāna and of Ṭāhir Īlāncaq. They were in obscurity on account of former defeats, and were waiting their opportunity. At a time when the officers were in the sleep of negligence, Ṭāhir went to Tājpūr and stirred up the dust of strife. Timur Badakhshī fought **460** a rash battle and was defeated. This made Ṭāhir presumptuous. Tarkhān dīwāna came to Tānda, the capital, and increased sedition. He sent fireladen reeds into some houses. Shahbāz K. sent Qāsim K. Muḥ. Niyāzī[1] and some brave men to punish him. He was soon a wanderer in the desert of destruction and died in the Morang.[2] The dust of failure was also scattered on the heads of the others.

One occurrence was the death of Ḥabīb ʻAlī s. Muḥibb ʻAlī (Rohtāsī). When the Bihar officers went to serve in Bengal, Yūsuf Matī Afghan collected few men and committed outrages. Ḥabīb ʻA. boiled over on account of his youth, and engaged in fight without due preparation. He performed wonders of valour and played away the coin of his life. Muḥibb ʻAlī was wild on hearing of this, but the other officers would not allow him to go off. Shāh Qulī—who had long been desirous of approaching the holy threshold—was sent to punish the wretch. In short time the rebels met with their deserts, and the dust of dissension was laid.

One occurrence was the assignment of Bengal to Ṣādiq K. It has been mentioned that the Bengal officers out of conceit and selfishness severed the thread of singleness of heart. Ṣādiq went off with some men in one direction, and Shahbāz went off in another. As ignorance was in the ascendant, the separation was not advantageous. They withdrew their hands from work and indulged in mutual animosity. Khwāja Salaimān[3] was sent to them from court to give them advice, and an order was given that it was not right to do one work in two divisions. Acute and well-meaning men should hold a meeting, and the subject should be fully considered among the leaders. Whoever should assume the management of Bengal should surrender Bihar to the other officer. The Khwāja first went to Ṣādiq, who hastily took Bengal without there having been any

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[1] Afterwards a distinguished officer. B. 483 and Maaṣir U. III. 372.

[2] The Sub-Himalayan tracts north of Purniah Sarkār.

[3] Probably the man who was afterwards bakhshī of the Panjāb. B. 457.

meeting of the two men. Shahbāz, S'aīd and others were angry and left without putting the province into order.

One occurrence was that Shahbāz became annoyed with Sangrām. Though the latter had not had the bliss of appearing at court, he never failed to serve the Bihar officers, and such was his good conduct that Rajah Todar Mal had called him his son. When Shahbāz was returning from Bengal, he, from interested motives, set about ruining Sangrām. The latter went into the ravines and prepared for wars. When the affair was somewhat protracted,
461 S'aīd chose separation and came to Bihar. Shahbāz caressed Pūran Mal of Gīdhaur, who was Sangrām's enemy, and encouraged him to injure Sangrām. A short time afterwards he imprisoned him (Pūran Mal).[1] A Rajpūt, who had formerly been in his (Pūran Mal's service, left him and joined Sangrām. He lay in wait to kill Shahbāz, and one day when a man was conversing with Pūran Mal in Shahbāz's parlour, that confused one took the man for Shahbāz and attacked him with his sword. Puran M. acted quickly, seized the Rājpūt and killed him. Shahbāz acted without consideration and put the innocent man (Pūran Mal) in chains.

One of the occurrences was the submissiou of 'Īsā K. From the time that a disaster[2] had happened to the imperial forces, of which some account has already beeu given, he had been greatly alarmed. He had been bewildered by the arrival of the troops, but when motives of self-interest and factiousness had disorganized the leaders of the army, and they in a short-sighted manner had fallen out with one another, this landholder become somewhat confident and reassured. He out of foresight sent envoys to Ṣādiq K. and the other leaders, and used soothing words. He agreed that he would send M'aṣūm Kābulī to the Ḥijāz, and that he himself would behave like a good servant. Also that he would send one of his relations to court to serve there, and that he would send there valuable presents. He would also send back what he had taken from the army at the time of the confusion. He was arranging to do all this when suddenly Shahbāz K., S'aīd K. and the other officers came away, as

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[1] The Iqbālnāma makes it clear that it was Pūran Mal who was imprisoned.

[2] This refers to Shahbāz's disastrous retreat described at pp. 438–39 of text.

has been said. Thereupon that evilly constituted one gave up submissiveness and indulged in extensive desires. The officers out of ignorance left him some territory, and he showed some obedience. He sent off to court the elephants, guns etc. which had fallen into his hands. Though he did not dismiss M'aṣūm K., yet he restrained him in some measure from strife-mongering. The farsighted sovereign accepted these things, but he did not approve of the officers coming away in the manner described. Khwāja Sulaimān reported that however much he spoke to Shahbāz K. about staying some days, he in his wrath would not agree to do so. H.M. sent him (Sulaimān) again to that country along with Nāẓir Daulat in order to obtain information about his (Shahbāz's) doings, and to rebuke the officers.

One of the occurrences was the quelling of the disturbances caused by the officers [1] of (Sulaimān) Kararānī. At the time when that country had been a little quieted, and the imperialists, in consequence of 'Īsā K.'s being bound by his agreements, were watching the course of events in the neighbourhood of Orissa, that turbulent one ('Isā) stirred up the dust of strife with the help of Sulaimān Sarbānī. A number of Afghans gathered together, and set about plundering. An attack was made upon Ṣāliḥ s. Wazīr K. and there was a battle in the district of Bardwan. Ṣāliḥ fought well and then took refuge in a fort in Bardwan. The imperialists **462** on hearing of this sent a force, and also marched there themselves. When the troops arrived within six kos of the enemy, the latter withdrew from the siege, and addressed themselves to fighting. The imperialists took post on the bank of Mangalkot [2] river. Just then the (main body of the) army arrived. They were rejoiced to find that the river was fordable by elephants. Meanwhile Khwāja Sulaimān and Nāẓir Daulat arrived from the court, and brought the news of victory. In a short time they erected two earthen forts

[1] Sulaiman Kararānī and his sons were dead, but his descendants, or officers (Auliyā Kararānī), made a fresh disturbance. But possibly Auliyā Kararānī is a man's name.

[2] N.-E. Bardwān, B. 440. It is not in the I.G. new ed., though it is in the old ed. IX, 313. It appears to me that B.'s N.-E. is a mistake for N.-W. The Mangalkot river is perhaps the Ajai. Mention of this river is also omitted in the I.G.!

over against the camps, so that the enemy might not give trouble at the crossing. On 30 Khurdād (about 10th June, 1585) the officers obtained a victory and had a joyful time. It rained the whole of the night. At dawn the troops proceeded to cross during the rain, and some men and horses were swept away. The enemy formed into battle-array. Ṣādiq drew up his forces, and entered the fort, and himself went to sleep (!). He left capable men to see that the troops did not disperse. When midday passed, the rebels returned to their quarters, thinking there would be no battle that day. At this time Ṣādiq resolved on battle. He sent a message to the officers that "The sole thought of the enemy was to turn back, let us now apply ourselves to battle." The brave men accepted this message, and came forward to fight. The enemy was thoroughly confused, and formed into two bodies. One body attacked Wazīr and another assailed Ṣādiq and Muḥibb 'Alī. Nāẓir Daulat and others distinguished themselves. Ṣādiq drove off his opponents. At this time it appeared that Wazīr was nearly being defeated. Muḥibb 'Alī and others went to his assistance, and in a short time the enemy was defeated, and a great victory was gained. Nearly 300 of the enemy were slain, and about 100 of the imperialists. 1000 of the foe were slain in their flight. The thorn of sedition was uprooted, and the oppressed offered up thanksgivings.

One occurrence was the death of Dastam Qāqshāl. Who can estimate the marvels of the Shahinshah's fortune, or reckon up his great deeds. S'aīd, Shahbāz, Bahār and other strenuous servants had
463 tried to put down that evil-doer and had failed. Now, a few men of moderate capacity erased the writing of his existence. When the officers, from defect of understanding, failed to put that country in order, and went off to Behar, that turbulent fellow (Dastam Q.) invested the fort of Ghorāghāt with a large force. Ṭāhir, Saifu l-Mulk and Khwājah Muqīm brought the jewel of skill and courage into play, and made a proper defence. Meanwhile Bābūī Manklī came from Sherpūr Murca, and it was reported that Muḥibb 'Alī had arrived. The enemy left the siege and retired to a distance. The auspicious servants came out and fought. Inasmuch as crapulousness soon besets those who have been intoxicated by presumption, and the shameless and turbulent are not long-lived, that shortsighted one fled and was killed, along with many others.

Victory adorned the men of clear vision. The elephant Son Kadūh (Golden Pumpkin) and other spoils were taken, and Dastam's son Kẖūsh Fāl was taken. It would appear as if the officers had departed in order that Fortune might show herself without the help of service-sellers, and that a lesson should be given to the ungrateful!

Also, at this time, there was a great gift from the Caliphate (Akbar's court), and many households obtained relief. Owing to the right-thinking of the world's lord, things became cheap,[1] and on this account the government[2] share pressed rather hardly on the cultivators. H.M. remitted in the provinces of Allahābād, Oudh and Delhi one in 5½ shares of the spring crop, and one-fifth share in the *hawālī*[3] of Allahābād. For the autumn crop he remitted one-sixth in the provinces of Allahabad and Oudh. In the khālṣa lands this amounted to 7 krors, 7 lakhs, 47,062 *dāms*. From this some estimate may be made of the condition of the fief-holders. This bounty relieved the agriculturists, and much gratitude was expressed.

On 16 *Tīr* the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. The needy were satisfied and thanksgivings were rendered. On this day Shah Qulī Maḥram came from Bengal, and did homage. On the 12th Amardād, Ṣādiq K. came post from Bengal, but as he came without being summoned, he was rejected.

An occurrence was the arrival at court of the Khān-khānān. A message had been sent to him that he should come as soon as he was satisfied with the condition of affairs in Gujarat. As by the might of daily-increasing dominion sedition had been put down, and great and small were in tranquillity, he left Aḥmadābād on the 8th (Tīr) and did homage on the 24th id.

Rai Singh Jhāla had the bliss of performing the *kornish*. His adventures are somewhat remarkable. He was one of the land- 464
holders in Gujarat, and was related to the Jām and to Khangār. He was distinguished for his bravery. One day he was marching about,

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[1] Apparently the meaning is that owing to Akbar's beneficial rule grain became cheap, and consequently the peasantry found it difficult to pay in money the government revenue.

[2] *Dastmazd-i-jahānbānī*. "The wages of rule."

[3] That is the home-lands, or lands in the neighbourhood of the city.

and holding a musical procession on account of a marriage-feast. On approaching the house of Jasā (or Jaisā) the cousin of Khangār, he received a message that he must either retire, or stop his music, or fight. Though he had few materials for battle, he set his heart on combat, and by great exertions was victorious. Jasā was slain, and his younger brother Ṣāḥib came forth to take vengeance. He too played away the coin of his life. But though Rai Singh was victorious, and though his enemies were killed, he by the jugglery of heaven disappeared. It is the custom of the Rājpūts that at the time of battle they dismount from their horses and fight at a distance from them. This is lest the horse become unmanageable and carry the rider out of the field, and so distract his comrades, or lest courage for the combat should not remain, and one should use his horse to withdraw himself from the field. After his victory Rai Singh went up to the horses, and Ṣāḥib's Rajputs, who had been left in charge of them, resisted him, and were killed. He too fell, severely wounded, and being half-dead he was reckoned among the slain. At night a *jogī* saw him, took him to his cell, and tended him. When he recovered, he travelled about in the wilds with the *jogī*. His clan were certain that he was dead, though some thought that as the body was not found, he was still alive. His wives all burnt themselves, except his favourite spouse, who would not yield herself to the flames. She lived on with a melting soul. In the end of the previous year, he, after nineteen years, took leave of the *jogī*, and came to his own house. He took again upon his shoulder the burden of social life. Those who had known him recognized him, especially that burnt-hearted sharer of his bed. By the help of the Khān-khānān he regained the chieftainship of his district.[1]

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1 This story is also told by Niẓām-u-d-dīn, Elliot V, 443, and there is a picturesque account of it in Noer's Akbar, translation II, 105-6. Rai Singh's ultimate fate is mentioned by A.F. at Vol. III, p. 524, of the A.N. and is placed by him in the 32nd year, 995, 1587. In Elliot it is said the Rai Singh only disappeared for two years, and this is in accordance with the Lucknow lithograph, but it differs from A.F.'s account who says that Rai Singh wandered about with the jogis for 19 years. However in an old MS. of the T.A. in my possession the period of his disappearance is given, not as two, but as twenty and two years. It also appears that the names of the two cousins who fought were Rayib and

One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān Ā'ẓim to the south country. Garha [1] and Raisīn were assigned to him as fiefs, and he was sent off after receiving weighty counsels. H.M.'s sole idea was to give tranquillity to the feeble ones of the Deccan, and to improve the rulers thereof. If they would not administer justice and cherish their people they were to be properly punished, and the case of the inhabitants was to be entrusted to sympathetic persons. 'Abdu-l-muṭṭalib K., Rajah Askaran, Shīrazī K.; Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Anjū, Burhān-al-mulk Deccanī, 'Abdu-Raḥmān the son of Mūyīd Beg, Ḥājī 'Abdullah Kashgharī, Subḥān Qulī Turk, 'Alī Murād, Sher Muḥammad, 'Alī Qulī and other brave men were dispatched from the presence. An order was given that every one should go to his *tuyūl* (fief), and arrange for the expedition to the 465
Deccan. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Sharīf and others of the province (of Mālwa) were ordered to join the army. An order was also given that Āṣaf K. should go from Ajmere with some leaders of that province. Khwājah Fatḥ Ullah was made bakhshī and Mukhtār Beg the Diwān of the army. That wise man of the age, Fatḥ Ullah Shīrazī, received the title of 'Aẓdu-daulah (Arm of the empire), and was sent to guide Rajah 'Alī the ruler of Khāndes. Some other able men were sent with him in order that if it were fitting, they should give advice to the other rulers of the Deccan.

One of the events was the sending of Shahbāz from Bihar to Bengal. At this time news came that he was objecting to go there and was coming to court to make a representation. Karm Ullah his brother was sent to stay him from this evil idea, and to make him obedient. An order was also given that M. Yūsuf should go from Oudh and take charge of Bihar.

Ṣaḥib, and that Rai Singh was wounded, while fighting on the side of one of these cousins. He was not the same person as Rayab or Rayib. There are two Jhalawārs, one in Rajputana, and the other in Kāthīwār. It is the latter that was Rai Singh's country. The T.A. makes Rai Singh be killed just as the Khān-khānān was going to court, but A. F.'s story is, and it is more likely to be correct, that he was presented to Akbar, and that he was not killed till some two years afterwards.

[1] Both of these are in Central India and in Akbar's time were included in the province of Mālwa. See Jarret II, 196 and 199.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

Expedition to the Panjab.

Whoever receives[1] a ray from the world-lighting sun, and who reads the inscription on his heart's portico, does not, without some heartfelt cause, abide in one place, but every now and then takes his pleasure in a new spot of delight. Especially is this so with wise enthroned ones, for the repose of the different tribes of mankind is impledged to such right-thinking and just personalities, and the irrigation of the four-square garden of the world depends upon their justice. In the first place the abode of empire is cleansed from the weeds and rubbish of disturbance by perambulations among the provinces, and direct knowledge is thereby obtained of the condition of things. Evil-doers sink into the abyss of failure, and good men acquire distinction. In the second place remote districts become swept and garnished as well as the home-farm of sovereignty, and are enlightened by the glory of justice. The world-traversing steed conveys the sovereign to those places, and knowledge is thereby increased, the country developed, and diversity changed into unity. The glory of the shadow of God envelopes mankind. Hence the acute sovereign every now and then makes some tract his abode, and constructs there delightsome palaces, enchanting gardens, ear-rejoicing fountains, noble temples of worship, and beneficent harbourages. Every one who cannot withdraw his regard from
466 superficialities is astonished to behold the sovereign abandoning those lordly dwellings and traversing fields and deserts. At this time when Fatḥpūr—that glorious diadem of God—was the envy of the age, able and observant men perceived that in spite of H. M.'s great affection for that place, the thought of hunting in

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1 Apparently the meaning is that such persons take a lesson from the sun which travels round the earth.

the Punjab had flashed upon his clear soul. From time to time this thought developed more and more. Men were surprised because they did not see the cause of this, and the far-seeing and experienced were watching for the reason. At this time news came that M. Ḥakīm the ruler of Kabul had packed[1] up the materials of existence (i.e. had died) on 16 Amardād (12 Shabān 993 or 30th July 1585) and that the dust of disturbance had arisen in Qābulistān (Afghanistan). The soldiers of that country were wickedly thinking that they would become wanderers in the desert of failure and would go to Tūrān. This[2] news was a fresh instance of the far-seeingness of the world's lord, and relieved many from their bewilderment. Seekers after wisdom, both in old and in recent times, are agreed that the hearts of just rulers are an iron fortress and a celestial armour for the right-minded and sincere, and for honest traders, and that for the double-faced, seditious, and wicked they are a life-slaying sword and a heart-piercing dagger. The fortunate who take up their quarters in that city[3] of God, or who occasionally enter there, are freed from the powerful arm of Time and sit joyfully on the summit of a happy day, and the foolish who meditate contending against this body of men who hold fast to the Divine, or have evil thought concerning them, spike themselves on the edge of a sword, and by their own insistence settle themselves in ruin.

Verse.

'Tis the fate of all who resign themselves to dreams
That they draw[4] the sword against the sun.

Those who opened far-seeing eyes perceived that the Divine assistance was attached to H.M. and he only felt an increase of affection for them as he considered them to have been labouring under the disease of ignorance. From the beginning of the Shāhinshāh's reign, every one who from an evil disposition, or from asso-

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[1] He was only thirty-one, having been born in April 1554.

[2] The meaning is that Akbar's desire to visit the Panjab was due to a prescience that troubles would rise there.

[3] Allahābād. This is carrying out the metaphor of the fortress and a play upon the name of the city of Allahabad.

[4] A metaphor for people who do useless things to their own injury.

ciating with the wicked has cherished evil thoughts, or has gone into opposition, has received proper punishment, and has trod the path of failure without the efforts of the managers of empire. Readers of this book of fortune do not require to search for proofs of this. The death of this young man is a fresh instance of it. In his former acts of ingratitude he was young and ignorant, and so he did not suffer so much loss, but a crew of wicked men, who made him a tool for disturbance, brought him to condign punishment. There was a time when he took a lesson, and had recourse to supplication. From ill fortune his evil thoughts increased, and India was again filled with dust. He retired discomfited, and his honour was lost on the field of battle. The gracious sovereign again forgave him and allowed him Afghanistan, as has been related. He ought not to have been able to lift up his head for shame, but in his evil
467 nature, kindness produced badness, and favours made him go further astray. The superintendents of fate made him a wine-bibber and this was a source of diseases for him.

Verse.

After much madness he fell into pains difficult of treatment, and the cup of his life was over. In spite of his high birth and noble lineage he by association with the base and with flatterers gathered no flower from the tree of existence, nor did he catch any fragrance from the spring-time of dominion. When he died, the bazaar of the seditious became flat and the double-faced turned to unity. H.M. was seized with sorrow at this time of joy, but he recognized the power of fate and sought for a remedy, and wended his way to the abode of resignation. He engaged in comforting the children, and gave attention to the consoling of high and low in that country. As some Afghans were from foolishness in terror, and thought of taking refuge in Tūrān, and were making the Mīrzā's children the instrument of their own ends, an order was rapidly sent by the hands of Walī Beg Ẕu-alqadar and Fatḥ Ullah that the timid should be encouraged, and be restrained from such evil ideas. He also instructed them to say that the deeds of the past had been erased from his heart and that nothing flowed from it except forgiveness. An order was also given that Kuar Mān Singh should proceed

rapidly to Kabul with some troops and should tell all, high and low, of H.M.'s justice and love. He was also to comfort the Mīrzā's survivors and all other men whether Turks or Tājiks. In accordance with his former thoughts about comforting the Kābulīs, H.M. beheld, after the manner of the heavens, that the repose of others depended upon his own activity, and like a star, perceived that their tranquillity must result from his movement. (Accordingly) on 11 Shahriyār (22 August 1585), after one watch and two gharīs of the night had passed, H.M. set off for the Panjab and reached the camp near Daulatābād. He sent off S. Ibrāhīm and some others to guard the capital, and on the 22nd took some repose near Sarai Abād on the bank of a tank which Rajah Todar Mal had made. The Rajah scattered largesse and presented gifts, and offered up thanksgivings. At this stage the Khān-khānān took leave to return to Gujarat. On the 31st H.M. halted at Delhi and visited the tombs of the saints. He spent most of the day in distributing benefactions at the tomb of Jinnat Āshayānī (Humāyūn). On that day M. Yūsuf K. did homage. When Shahbāz K. was sent from 468
Bīhār to the eastern districts, the Mīrzā received a fief in Bihār. When an order reached him, he sent off men to that country, and came himself post to H.M. After arranging the business, he took leave. At dawn the house of S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī was glorified by the Shāhinshāh's visit, and he attained his long-cherished wish. The royal standards proceeded by Sonpat and Pānīpat and on 13 Mihr reached Thānessar. As the evil designs of the Kabulīs now became bruited abroad, H.M. in his abundant kindness dispatched Mīr[1] Ṣadr Jahān Muftī and Banda 'Alī Maidānī to that quarter in order that they might go quickly and soothe the people. The august cortége proceeded by Shāhābād and Ambāla and halted on the 18th at Sirhīnd. He enjoyed the delightful gardens there, which are famed for their beauty. A noble assemblage took place there. On this day news was received that the Rānā was nearly caught, but that on account of supineness he had managed to escape. On the 4th Jagannāth, J'afar Beg, Sayid Rājū, Wazīr Jamīl, S. Saīf Ullah, Muḥammad K., Jān Muḥammad, Sher Bihārī and some others proceeded rapidly

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[1] B. 468. He was a favourite with Jahāngīr, and the Iqbālnāma speaks of him as a *panchazārī*. See Maaṣir III. 349.

and at the end of the day reached his house. Apparently one of the companions of the Rānā gave him information and he took refuge with his family in the defiles. His house and household were plundered. From foresight they did not judge it proper to return by the same way, and so proceeded towards Gujarāt. When they had gone some way they turned towards Dūngarpūr. They came thoroughly to understand the Rai of that country, and who was a double-faced person by profession. They took from him a large sum of money and much cattle by way of present (*sāwarī*, i.e. tribute etc.) and then turned back. The Rānā wanted to come out of the hills and to stir up strife in the country, but as the army suddenly arrived, he had to retreat with failure.

Also at this time Daudā the son of Surjan ended his days, and the world became cleansed of a stain. Also S. Ism'aīl died. He was the grandson of S. Selīm Fatḥpūrī, and propriety shone from his countenance. From bad companionship he fell from pure ways into habits of drinking, and so madness took possession of his soul; and he had grievous ailments.

Verse.

Let not the wise man be sunk in wine,
For this flood ruins wisdom's palace.
They drink wine to produce[1] death:
They do not drink for pleasure and intoxication.

469 On account of his being grevously afflicted they left him behind at Thanessar, and he died[2] in much pain on the 16th. He left a warning to the wise.

Also at this time the news came that Kuar Mān Singh had crossed the Indus with an army and that a body of his troops had come to Peshawar. Shāhbeg was terrified and took to flight, and the Afghans came in tribes to make their submission. On the 24th H.M. crossed the Sutlej at Māciwāra by a bridge, and halted his army near Dihakdār. He went on by Hādīābād, Jālandhar, and Sulṭānpūr. On 1 Ābān he made a bridge over the Bīāh at Jalālābād and crossed his troops. He himself crossed on an elephant. On this day the solar weighment took place, and high and low

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1 *az pāitark-i-hastī* in order to bid farewell to existence.

2 Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 358.

rejoiced. Congratulatory writings enlivened the eye and heart, and on the territories of Bīrwāl (?) and Ambāla he partook of the sport of hunting. On the 6th he reached Kalānūr and enjoyed himself in the garden which is known to the world as the scene of the Accession. There was daily worship of God. On this day he sent Ḥakīm Ālī and Bahāū-d-dīn Kambū to Kashmīr. Yūsuf K. the ruler of that country always considered himself as one of those who had been elevated by the Shāhinshāh, and continually kept himself in remembrance by sending presents. He represented the distance as a reason for his not coming in person. Now that H.M. had come to the Panjab, it occurred to him that he should send one of his servants to summon him (Yūsuf), as some of his letters expressed a desire to come and do homage. Y'aqūb his son got other thoughts on account of his father's having been sent for (i.e. he became suspicious). He fled [1] from the camp and went to his home. Accordingly, the envoys [2] were sent to give good counsels to Yūsuf and to rebuke and waken up the fugitive. If Yūsuf could not come himself, he was to send Y'aqūb.

One of the occurrences was the death of S. Jamāl.[3] He was of a noble Indian family, and his sister was in H.M.'s harem. He was distinguished for courage and politeness. On account of his good qualities he was made an Amīr. He fell into bad company, and his good qualities became tarnished. He stained his character by drunkenness and follies. As his condition grew daily worse, he was left behind at Lūdīāna, and on the 8th (Ābān, i.e. October 1585), 470 he departed from this evil world. He was a warning to others.

Verse.

It is indispensable that a man should choose a wise, far-seeing and loving friend, and make his walk and conversation his model.

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[1] Ḥaidar Malik says Y'aqūb fled from Khawāṣpūr (a station between Lahore and Attock).

[2] Ferishta says in his account of Kashmīr that when Yūsuf heard of the dispatch of the envoys he came as far as Tatta to meet them, and received a robe of honour. But some Kashmīrīs told him that if he went to Akbar's Court, he would be put to death, and his son would be made king, so he dismissed the envoys and returned to Kashmīr.

[3] Badayūnī, Lowe 358. Jamāl's sister was superintendent of the Harem, B. 425.

Some able men of former ages, who had become addicted to drink, observed seasons and moderation, and used wine as a medicine They did not give themselves up to the indulgence; nor made it a source of brain-disorder and infatuation.

On the 14th H.M. crossed the Cenāb by a bridge in the territory of Parsarūr (the Pasrūr of I.G.), and encamped near Sīālkot.

One of the occurrences was the insanity of S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān of Lucknow. From bad companionship he took to drink, and for a long time displayed folly. In these days the veil was lifted from his actions, and he talked foolishly in the quarters of Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ. In an access of madness he struck himself with the Ḥakīm's dagger. Men gathered round him and took it from him. . His wound was sewn up in the courtyard, and he was taken care of. Though physicians declared that the Shaikhzāda's wound was mortal, H.M., from his secret knowledge, pronounced that he would recover. Superficial observers thought that this was only soothing words, but the far-sighted knew that this meant that he would recover. Though for two months and fourteen[1] days he took (only) two or three spoonfuls of soup, there was no change in his condition. The pulse-knowers and the examiners of urine gave him up. The Shāhinshāh continued to give the good news of a recovery, and prescribed *pālūsh-i kharbūza*.[2] As soon as he ate this, there was an improvement, and he recovered daily, so that in a short time he became well.

On the 24th the army encamped near Rasulpūr. Ṣādiq received Multan and Bhakkar and took leave from this station. On the 27th he crossed the Bihat (Jhelum) by a bridge, and on this day he left the army to hunt deer. The deer of this neighbourhood are superior

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1 The Iqbālnāma and the I.O. MSS. have "four" instead of fourteen.

2 Kharbūza are water-melons, but it is not easy to say what *pālūsh* is. Pālūsh پالوش is said to be an inferior kind of camphor, and one that is adulterated. It is also written pālūs and bālūs. As bālūs it is described in the Ain, B. 79, as the worst kind of camphor and as mixed with pieces of wood. It is not likely that Akbar prescribed impure camphor. Perhaps we should read *paplus* پپلس which is defined in Vullers I. 330 as a kind of food consisting of day bread soaked in butter and syrup. Or, perhaps, we should read ba-alūsh instead of pālush. Alūsh is a Turkī word meaning provisions from the king's table, and it may be that Akbar prescribed this food together with melons.

to all others for size and courage. He enjoyed the sport for a week and then returned. On 7 Āẕar he encamped at Rohtās, and on this day he climbed the hill of Bālnāth and interviewed some of the ascetics. From here Qāsim was sent on to level the roads up to the Indus. Afterwards he was to make the Khaibar and the 471
road to Kabul passable for carriages. In a short time he accomplished this. In this place Fatḥ Ullah and Walī Beg arrived from Kabul, and it appeared that the Kabulīs had been tranquillised by the graciousness of the Shāhinshāh, and that those who had been terrified had applied their hearts to obedience.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of H.H. Miriam-makānī. On account of her great love for H.M., she could not remain (*niyārastand*) in the capital (Delhi?). H.M. was delighted at this news; he received her on the 11th Aẕar = 23 November and brought her with all respect to her lodging. Many were of opinion that the august standards should not go beyond Rohtās. But as H. M.'s design was to settle Zābulistān (Kabul) and to chastise the Afghans (i.e. the Raushānīs etc.), he went on, and on the 25th (7 December 1585) encamped at Rawalpindi.[1]

One of the occurrences was the subsidence of the disturbance caused by Moẕaffar Gujrātī. When the Khān-khānān went off to pay his respects to H.M., that wretch thought the field was open to him, and raised the head of sedition. He thought that he might plunder Aḥmadābād. The Jām advised him, saying that he could not go there quickly, and that he should not imagine so great an enterprise to be easy. He should first set his mind at rest about Amīn K. Ghorī, and punish him if he would not co-operate with him. After that he should attack Jūnāgarh. He (the Jām) would join him with a choice force, and so Gujarat would easily fall into his possession. By these idle speeches he got him to attack the town of Ambarīlī,[2] and Moẕaffar obtained some successes in the territory

[1] For an itinerary of Akbar's marches see Noer's Akbar, trans. II. 131.

[2] انجريلي. In the T.A. we have Amarūn or Ambarūn, and this is mentioned in Bayley p. 232 as the place when the tomb of Dāwar-ul-mulk is. In the Mirat Sikandarī, which is Bayley's original, p. 127, the place is called Ambarūn and is stated to be on the borders of Kach, and 10 kos from Morvī. But the place mentioned by A.F. appears to be different, and to be the Amrelī of

of Amīn K. The latter represented to the officers of Gujarat that he had not the strength to fight with Moẓaffar, but that if he received some help, the insurrection could be easily put down.

On the 2nd, Qulij and some strenuous men prepared in Aḥmadabad for battle. Saiyid Qāsim and Khwājah Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and others were sent to that quarter. Beg Muḥ. Toqbai Amīr, Maḥibb Ullah, Saiyid Salīm and others were sent in advance. When they had gone thirty kos, Moẓaffar lost confidence and hastened off to Kāthīwāra. When the men sent in advance joined Amīn K., he acquired courage and new strength. He represented that if he had one thousand more horse, he could come from behind, and the imperial army from another direction, and pursue Moẓaffar. Accordingly, Qulīj K. and others were sent, other leaders were sent by another route. Amīn K. came to the town of Rājkot, which was Moẓaffar's asylum, and plundered it. The ill-fated one went off to the Ran[1] (Runn). That is a saline tract, where there is continually the ebb and flow of the tide. It is 200 kos long and 30 to 50 kos
472 wide. It dries up at the end of the hot weather. When fresh water passes away from that country, it becomes saline.

The officers halted near the shrine of Dāwaru-l-mulk.[2] There Amīn K. joined them, and the Jām came forward and made protestations (of loyalty). Both landholders were soothed and allowed to depart to their homes. They left their sons to serve in the army. The commotions ceased all at once. After the completion of the business, the Khān-khānān arrived. He had, on the way, arranged somewhat the affairs of Sirohī and Jālor. The Rai of Sīrohī soon came and paid his respects, but Ghaznī[3] of Jālor remained aloof.

J. II. 258. It was a large district in Sarkār Sorath.

[1] In the Ain, J. II. 249, much smaller dimensions are given. Apparently the description there is of the lesser Rann, while here it is the northern and greater Rann which is described; see I.G. XI, 84-85. There is also an interesting account of the Rann in Lyell's Principles of Geology.

[2] It is at Amrūn, T. Akbari, 444. See Bayley's Gujarat, p. 231, for an account of the saint.

[3] Bayley's Gujarat, 15. He was S. Malik Khānjī. Bayley has the form Ghaznavī. Blochmann calls him Ghaznīn, 493 and 622. As Blochmann points out, p. 494, Ghazni's son Pahār was executed by Jahāngīr for matricide: see Jahangīr's Memoirs, translation, p. 353. I believe it is this execution that is referred to by Terry.

But when he saw that the foot of resolution was firmly planted, and that escape was difficult, he submitted. As he did this because he could not help himself, he was not allowed to enjoy[1] his lands, and was taken along (with the Khān-khānān). Jālor was given to others.

By the help of God he (the Khān-khānān)[2] was delivered from a great danger. Near Sirohī it occurred to him that he would enjoy the pleasure of hunting, in company with his ladies. In the eagerness of youth he became somewhat separated from the army, while pursuing the sport. Having ridden much, and it being very hot, he took a rest under a tree. One of his huntsmen opened the hand of oppression and laid hold of a cow. The Rajputs of the neighbourhood came forward to fight, and the Khān-khānān got up to take part in the melee. Some servants who were near at hand joined him. A great contest ensued, and things were nearly coming to a crisis. But in that hopeless position they got the victory, and the Rajputs were punished.

At this time Khangār the ruler of Cutch died, and was succeeded by his son Bihārā.[3] Though the Jām has more men and lands, Khangār is regarded as the chief ruler, and permission is taken from him on the occasion of successions, etc.

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[1] I am not sure of the meaning. The word is *taṣarraf*. I think that the next sentence means that Jālor was given to others.

[2] The Khān-khānān was then under thirty. It surely is he, and not Ghaznī, that A.F. is referring to, though one would hardly have expected the K.K. to be travelling with his harem.

[3] The Bihārā Khangār of Bayley, 17, and the Khangār of B. 419. Khangār was Zamindār of Cutch, and according to the Ain, J. II. 250, his residence was at Bhūj. I.G. VIII. 151. At p. 55 of Bayley Khangār is spoken of as the ruler of Girnār.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

The arrival at Courts of the sons of Ḥakīm M. and of the Kabul soldiers.

The reports of the Shāhinshāh's justice, of his search for truth, and of his appreciativeness broke the chain which made lovers of their native land apprehensive of exile. Not a day passed without a set of remote foreigners gathering the bliss of homage (*kornish*), and of having their various wishes gratified. For this reason it was the wish of the high and low among the inhabitants of Kabul that they might come to court and obtain the desire of their souls from the everlasting dominion. But fidelity and loyalty held the foremost place. When the Mīrzā died, there was some disturbance, and every one was trying to save himself. Farīdūn K. restrained the Mīrzā's sons, and the simple-minded Turks, from going to court. He was always saying that H.M. knew from the Kabulis of the seditiousness of the Mīrzā, and would punish it. He considered his own bad behaviour, and so his idea was to ally himself with the ruler
473 of Tūrān. By his cajolery he misled many short-sighted persons, and the majority were nearly being persuaded to adopt this course. At this time holy firmans arrived, one after the other, and the projects of the wicked were broken up. Farīdūn was meditating to take the Mīrzā's children with him and to fly to Transoxiana. Farsighted and right-thinking persons took to keeping a watch over him. At this time the sound of the approach of the victorious army rose high. Farīdūn too turned from his former thoughts, and had recourse to supplications. But, from shortsightedness and topsy-turvyness of ideas, he could not abide in one mind. At last Kuar Mān Singh arrived, and the thoughts of concord took possession of him. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and some brave men crossed the Indus, and marched forward, and Shah[1] Beg went from Peshawar to Kabul. The peasantry submitted, and when the victorious

[1] B. 377.

army halted at Bikrām, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Muhammad 'Ālī, Hamza Beg and other brave men pushed forward. The Khaibar route, which had been closed by the turmoil of the Tārīkīs (the Raushānīs), was reopened, and the turbulent banditti crept into the corner of failure. The party reached Jalālābād, and produced tranquillity by acting justly. 'Alī Muh. Asp and all the well-affected Kabulis became adherents. Bakht Nisā[1] Begam was there, and was delighted on hearing the news. The Mirzā had sent that chaste lady with his beloved son Afrāsīāb to court in order that she might make intercession and apologize for his deficiencies. He also sent with her Ḥasan[2] and Ḥusain the twin sons of Shahrukh M. Upon the unavoidable event (M. Ḥakīm's death) Afrāsīāb turned back as he was near at hand (had not gone far?). Farīdūn, in his evil thought, tried to turn back the Begam also. At this time the imperial officers arrived, and the picture of evil intentions was obliterated. On 29th Ābān Mān Singh hastened to Būtkhāk, and M. Kaiqubād, who was 15[3] years old and Afrasīāb who was 14, joined him with many of the soldiers. Their faces were illuminated by the hope of the Shāhinshah's graciousness. At dawn they came to Kabul, and by open-handedness and sweet words the hearts of men were won. On 4 Āẕar, Kuar Mān Singh made the charge of the country over to his son Jagat Singh and to Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn. He himself proceeded with the Mīrza's belongings and the country-leaders to the sublime threshold. On the 25th he did homage at Rāwalpindī. The newcomers were treated with suitable respect. First, Afrāsīab. Kaiqubād, and Walī,[4] the Mīrzā's sister's son, were admitted to an audience, and then Farīdūn, Āli Muḥ. Asp, Shāh Beg, Gadā Beg, Tāsh Beg Qūcīn, Takhta Beg, Qāsīm Parwāna,

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[1] M. Ḥakīm's sister, the wife of Khwāja Naqshbandī. Her husband died before M. Ḥakīm. Jahangir calls her Najību-n-nisā. She died in the third year of his reign, aged 61. She had two sons.

[2] B. 313.

[3] The variant 11 is supported by I.O. MSS. and the Iqbālnāma. Probably 15 was adopted by the copyist because Kaiqubād was the eldest son and therefore older than Afrāsīāb. This difficulty is got over by the apparent fact that Afrāsīāb was not 14, but 4, as shown in the Iqbālnāma.

[4] S. Bakht Nisā. Text has Diwālī but this is wrong. See Tūzuk Jahāngīrī, p. 272, which tells of his marriage to a daughter of Prince Daniel. See also Maaṣir M. III, 456.

Moẓaffar Koka, Jānish Bahādur, Tātār Beg, Ghaiūr Beg, Ulugh Beg, Nūr Muḥ., Khwāja Khiẓrī, Dost Muḥ. Turnabi, Khākī Galabān
474 Atālīq, Qāsim Koka, Khwāja Yāqūt (an eunuch), Ātam Bahādur, Khwasham Bahādur, Ḥaīdar ʻAlī ʻArab, Qāẓī ʻIzzat Ullah, Farrukh[1] Beg Maṣawwir (painter) and others received suitable robes and horses, and trays of muhrs and rupīs. Various favours were conferred on them. Farīdūn, who was of an ungrateful nature, and whose trade was turbulence and disloyalty, was made over to Zain Koka in order that his disposition might be studied.

On 2 Dai H.M. encamped at Ḥasan Abdāl and near there held a *qamar gāh* hunt. Here Ḥakīm ʻAlī and Bahāu-d-din arrived from Kashmīr. The ruler thereof, from pressure of flatterers, and the strength of his country, did not take the road of good service. Though after the manner of double-faced persons, he indulged in protestations, he neither showed an intention of coming to kiss the threshold nor of sending his son Yʻaqūb. His ignorance increased. The royal wrath—never inappropriate—was aroused, and an order was issued that the victorious army should awake him from his slumbers.

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[1] Presumably the Calmāq mentioned in B. 108. The Iqbālnāma says, he is unrivalled at the present day.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

The appointment of an army for the conquest of Kashmīr.

The sole idea of wise kings is day by day to refresh the garden of the world by the streams of justice, and assuredly this design is accomplished whenever extensive countries come into the hands of one who is just and of wide capacity. And when an empire has been civilized by an enlightened and just ruler, and the people thereof—small as well as great—sit in the shade of tranquillity, it is unavoidable that such a prince should cast a profound glance on the deeds of neighbours who have taken the path of dissimulation. He must look closely in order to perceive if their former conduct can be brought into line with love and order, and if they can be induced to treat their subjects properly. If they do not, then justice requires that they should be punished, and their land taken from them. Especially, if they, after having been treated with various kindnesses, take the path of presumption, and turn away from cherishing their people, and sit down in self-indulgence. Accordingly when the envoys returned from Kashmir, and represented the arrogance and wickedness of the Ruler, H.M., on 9 Dai, 20 December 1585, dispatched M. Shāhrukh Bahādur,[1] Rajah Bhāgwant Dās, Shāh Quli Maḥram, Mādhū Singh, Mubārak K. and many Aḥadīs, under the charge of M. Ālī Akbarshahī, Shaikh Y'aqūb Kashmīrī, Haidar Cak and other strenuous and brave men. Amīnu-d dīn[2] was made bakhshī. Also on this day, Zain K. Koka was sent off to guide aright the Yūsufzais, and to conquer Swād (Swāt) and Bajaur. 475
This large tribe formerly lived in Qandahar and Qarābāgh. From there they came to (the district of) Kabul, and became powerful. M. Ulugh Beg Kābulī massacred[3] them by a stratagem. Those who

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[1] The conjunction in text before Bahādur is wrong.

[2] Amīnu-d-dīn, it seems, was made by Akbar Yātishbegī or Captain of the Watch. See Jahangīr's Tūzuk, translation pp. 13, 14 and note.

[3] Elphinstone's Cabul II. 10.

remained took refuge in the Lamghānat. Afterwards they settled at Hashtnagar.[1] It is nearly one hundred years since they settled in Swād and Bajaur, and lived there in the practice of robbery and turbulence. In this land there was a tribe that had the title of Sultānī, and claimed to be descended from a daughter of Sultan Sikandar.[2] The Yūsufzais for some time zealously served them, and then became ungrateful, and took possession of the choice lands. Up to the present day some of the former inhabitants spend their days in distress in the defiles, and from love for their native land are unable to leave.

During the Kabul commotion the heads of the Yūsufzai submitted and had recourse to fawning. They expressed shame for their former wickedness and made promises of service. One of them, Kālū by name, was treated very graciously. In a short time however, they returned to their former ways, and applied themselves to robbery and oppression. Kālū himself fled from Court. Khwāja Shamsu-d-din caught him near Attock and sent him back. The gracious sovereign treated him kindly. Inasmuch as kindness is of no benefit to an evil nature, he again absconded, and took refuge in his former dwelling, and led astray other landholders. H.M. dispatched Ḥasan K. Patni, Rajah Mukat Man, Jānish Bahādur, Askaran Pancānan, Hīra Pradhān, Rām Cand, S. Kabīr, Faulād and others[3], under the command of the Kokaltāsh. 'Arab Khānjahāni was made bakhshī. The whole idea was that the crooked tribe might be guided aright, and that the black-hearted ones who did not accept counsel should be punished. Farīdun K. was made over to the author.

Also, during this year[4] Ism'aīl Qulī K. was sent off to Balūcis-

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1 Text اصدّغر Aṣtghar. I presume Hashtnagar is meant, but it is Aṣtghar in Maaṣir II. 363, and in I.O. MS. 236.

2 That is, Alexander the Great. The tribe Sultānī does not seem known now. Perhaps A. F. means the Kafirs. Cf. account in text with J. II. 392-393 and in Elphinstone's Cabul. App. C. A. F. does not state, as quoted by Elphinstone, that Alexander's descendants were connected with the Yūsufzai. The tribe Sultāni seems to have derived its name from that of its rulers, of whom the last, apparently, was Sultan Wais. See Elphinstone, p. 11, and Asiatic Quarterly for April 1901.

3 I have omitted some names.

4 There is the variant *walā* "time."

tān. When the news came that this people had gone the way of disobedience, and did not perform service, he was nominated for this important task. Rai Rai Singh, Abu-l-Qāsim Tumkīn (Namakīn) and many other brave men accompanied him. Ḥāshim was appointed bakhshī. Also, on this day Kuar Mān Singh was sent off to 476
Kabul, in order that he might civilize that country by justice. Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, Bakhtiyār Beg, Muḥ Quli Beg, Ḥamza Beg and many men of note accompanied him. An order was given to him that when he came near the Khaibar he should halt for some days and chastise the Tārīkīs, and make the road safe, so that pedestrians (*pawindagān*) might feel at ease. The sovereign arrived at Atak-Benares on 12 Dai, 23 December, after travelling 305 *kos* and a little more in 4 months and 1 day and in sixty-five marches. At dawn of the following day he reached the quarters of Zaīn K. Koka and Kuar Mān Singh, who were in the neighbourhood, and renewed his valuable counsels. On the 15th he sent Farīdūn K. to the Ḥijāz as, mayhap, the stain of his misconduct might be washed out there, and he might gather the materials of bliss. He embarked on the Bihat in a boat and was taken to Bhakkar. From there Ṣādiq K. sent him off by river, and had him conveyed to that place of pilgrimage. Though the farsighted among the courtiers represented that if he did not relieve such a rebel from the burden of existence, he should put him in prison and read him a lesson there, H.M. adhered to the tenour of his summons and did not listen to this suggestion.

Ḥājī Siyandak, Aḥmad Beg and others kept an eye on those who had gone first. When they learnt how kindly they had been received, they left Kabul for the holy threshold, and on the 20th had the bliss of a reception, and were treated with princely favours.

One of the occurrences was the sending of soldiers to attack the Yūsufzai. The homes of this rebellious crew are in the hill-country of Swād (Swāt) and Bajaur. Many of them live in the plains. The Indus surrounds them on two sides. On the two other sides they have the Kābul river, and the northern hill-country. The length of their territory is 30 kos, and its breadth 15–20. There are delightful valleys and beautiful tracts.

As the Kokaltāsh went on to Bajaur without paying any attention to the plains, H.M. dispatched on the 25th (Dai) Qarā Beg,

Ẓiā-al-mulk and some others under the command of S. Farīd bakhshī. They made a good attack and then returned. They reported that there was a great deal of work to be done in the plain, and that another army should be appointed in order to root out the thorn of rebellion. After that it should enter the hills from another side and join the Kokaltāsh. Accordingly, on 4 Bahman S'aīd[1] K., S. Faiẓī, the poet laureate, Sher Khwāja, 'Alī Muḥ, Alif, Qāẓī 'Alī, Ṣāliḥ diwāna, Fatḥ Ullah Sharbatdār, Ayūb Beg, Y'aqūb Beg, 'Abdu-
477 r-Raḥmān Beg[2], S. Abu-l-Barkāt[3] and others, together with 300 horse belonging to the author, were sent off.

At the first stage, to which this humble one had gone to take leave of his brothers, H.M., from his favour to the humble, cast the shadow of his graciousness upon him, and exalted him by various kindnesses. A *qūrkhāṣa*[4] (special collection of ensigns) was assigned to the force, in order that by doing homage (*kornish*) thereto, it might be fortunate. The troops were to march behind this. The rendezvous was at Nardān.[5]

On the 7th (Bahman) Mīr Sharīf Āmulī[6] was sent to Zābulistān as amīn and ṣadr of that province (Kabul). On the same day Qāsim Beg Tabrīzī was raised to the post of Mīr 'Adlī (Judge-advocate) of the camp. H.M. said, "Always implore God, and seek to do His will, and unite recognition (of God) with prayer, and keep free from cupidity and cowardice, which cause the wise to waver, for many pure souls are turned from the recognition of the truth by the deceitfulness of the world, and the prosperity of oppressors. Nor should you in the administration of justice (*dāwarī*) decide matters by witnesses[7] and oaths, but should make inquiry with profound dis-

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1 He was a Gakhar, and a brother of Kāmal K. B. 486.

2 So in text, but I.O. MSS. have Shaikh, and this is probably correct, and the person meant seems to be A.F.'s son.

3 We see from this that two of A.F.'s brothers were in the force. For Abul Barkāt see B. XXXIII.

4 B. 50, note 4. We learn from the T.A., Elliot V. 451, that this reinforcement was sent off on 2 Ṣafr 994 = 13 January 1586. Apparently the qūrkhāṣa was attached to A.F.'s squadron.

5 This name is doubtful. The MSS. seem to have Tardān or Tarwān. The name appears against p. 513 of text, as Nārūn.

6 A noted heretic: see B. 176 and 452.

7 These remarks seem to be embodied in the instructions to the Mīr 'Adl and Qāẓī in J. II. 41. No de-

crimination, and study the lines of the forehead. If difficult questions be too hard for you, report them to me. Regard self-indulgence as wrong, and attend to duty, in season and out of season."

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rajah Bīrbar to Swād. When it became known that if the work were left to those first sent, it would take long to finish as there were many recalcitrants, and it was difficult to get through the mountain defiles, it was resolved that another army should be sent under the charge of an experienced servant. Inasmuch as the head of this confused and ambitious one (himself) was filled with thoughts of battle, he represented to H.M. that although his serving in his presence was the elixir of fortune, yet he wished to make trial of foreign service—which was the testing place of loyalty. I too, who had been raised by H.M. from the lane of contempt to a conspicuous post in the world, wished to lighten my shoulder somewhat. I was strengthened in this desire by thinking that I might be able to do good service, and also shut the mouths of those envious persons which were gates of impropriety. Should I lose my brief life, I would acquire an eternal good name. H.M. perceived in my demeanour the marks of sincerity, and accepted my prayer. This gave me new vigour. He said that he would send with me some experienced soldiers, whose opinions I should follow in the matters of camping and engaging. At the end of the day when it was the time for taking leave, H.M. said it had occurred to him that lots should be 478 cast between me and Rajah Bīrbar, so that without reference to either's wishes the Divine decree might be elicited. Inasmuch [1] as

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pendence, we are there told, should be placed on witnesses.

[1] It is characteristic of the Lucknow editor that he has no note on this passage. That it is obscure and in need of comment is shown by the variety of readings. The text is از انجا که خواهش دیگر بود نقش بسیار بر گرفته آمد A variant which occurs also in the Lucknow ed. has خواهش دیگری. I.O. MS. 236 has نقش بسیار برابر گرفت. I.O. 235 has, apparently, نقش بسیار را بر گرفت. Neither has آمد āmad. My impression is that Abul Faẓl is playing upon the words دیگر divers, بسیار many, and کم less. Naqsh bisyār is probably the same as Naqsh besh, which I take to mean a big, i.e. lucky, throw. The latter phrase is given in Vullers s.v. naqsh and in the Bahār 'Ajam, and is stated to be the opposite of *naqsh kam*; *kam* may perhaps be *gam*, lost, or wanting, but I think not, for kam may also mean evil or unlucky. The Darbārī Akbarī in the course of

there were divers wishes the big throw failed, and all at once the little throw came out in his name. Both of us entered upon a prolonged sorrow. As there was no help for it, I left the broken thorn of grief in my heart, and seated myself in the caravanseray of meditation. That man who was fitted for battle or for banquet (*babazm u razm*) went off by heaven's decree on 12 Bahman, 21 January 1586. Qāsim Khwāja, Gadā Beg, Ḥājī Siyandūk, Aḥmad Beg, Tāsh Beg, Khwāja Hisāmu-d-dīn and other distinguished persons went with him. Next morning at dawn, H.M. on returning from hunting visited the Rajah's camp and exalted him by various favours.

In a short time they swept the plain. Whoever was refractory was punished, and whoever submitted had his honour and property preserved and the troops went off elsewhere (?). The victorious army then addressed itself to the conquest of Banīr (Buner) and proceeded by the ravines. When they had passed through some defiles they came to Dūk.[1] Here the Afghans proceeded to offer battle, and there was a hot engagement. A large number were made prisoners, and many also were killed. Sher Khwāja and others displayed much valour. As it was evening, and the road was not clear, they turned back and came to the staging-place. When they learned that there was no road that way (the one by which they were advancing when they were attacked by the Afghans), they returned to the plain in order to march by another route.

At this time Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ was sent off to Swād with a force. Zain K. Kokaltāsh had represented that by God's favour he had crossed through difficult defiles, and had got possession of Bajaur, and of the most of Swād, but that the troops had been harassed by the continual forced marches (*takādū*). The Afghans were assembled in the Karākar (?) pass between Swād and Bunēr. If some brave men were sent to him, the enemy would soon have his deserts, and the whole country would come into possession in an

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a long and discursive article on Bīrbar says, p. 301, that the angel of death pointed out Birbar's name. Perhaps this means that the author read raqm-i-yam "the letter of death" for raqm-i-kam or that he read raqm-i-gamnāma, e.g., "the letter of his disappearance." Vullers s.v., *kam*, II. 879 [a], says the word is used to express an unlucky throw and quotes a couplet from Niẓāmī in support of this view.

[1] Dukī is Hindkī for a hill. Erskine's Bābar 152, n. 3.

excellent manner. Accordingly on the 19th, Ḥasan Beg, S. 'Umrī, Aḥmad Qāsim, Ṭūfān Beg, Mullā Ghiyūrī, Mohan Dās, were sent along with Cerūs [1] and *shamshērbāzān* [2] (swordsmen) under the command of the Ḥakīm. He ordered that if the soldiers previously [3] sent were in the plains they should quickly join the Kokaltāsh, and hasten by the Malakand [4] pass, which was the nearest way. At the end of the day H.M. visited the Ḥakīm's tents, and gave him excellent counsels.

In a short time the forces gathered together and hastened on 479
by the prescribed route. Also at this time news came that the ambassador of 'Abdullah K. the ruler of Tūrān, and Naẓar Bé, who had long held Balkh in fief, had nearly arrived with a large caravan. On account of the Tārīkīs they had trouble in coming through the Khaibar, and so *Mubārak Nohānī*, Ghāzī K. and other brave men were dispatched under the command of S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī to conduct the visitors.

One [5] of the occurrences was the pacification of Bengal. When the idea of the expedition to the Panjab occurred to H.M., the news came that Wazīr K. was unable to carry out the duties there alone, and that the rebels of that quarter were bestirring themselves. Accordingly Shahbāz K.'s younger brother was sent to bid him go from Behar to that country. When H.M. arrived at the bank of the Bihat, it was represented to him that Shahbāz K. was possessed by a great desire to come to Court, and that he was on his way thither. H.M. sent off *sezāwals* to turn him back nolens volens, and to send him on the above service. They met him near Jaunpūr and withheld him from carrying out his wish. On 20 Bahman he sat down to guard Bengal, and won hearts by soothing words and by the open hand. In a short time the Afghans had recourse to supplication, and the dust of dissension was laid, and the weak com-

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[1] I presume these are the Cerūs of India mentioned at vol. II. 287 as being always in attendance on Akbar, and whom he employed in the fight between the Sanyāsīs at Thānesar. Or they may be the men from the Eastern districts who use shields called *cirwah*. B. 252.

[2] B. 252, and whom he calls gladiators.

[3] That is, those sent with Bīrbar.

[4] I.G. XVII. 72.

[5] This passage is translated in Elliot VI. 79.

forted. He sent off troops to Bhātī to punish 'Isā K. Owing to the wondrous fortune of H.M., 'Īsā had not the courage to fight, and the territory which Ṣādiq had surrendered according to the peace, came into possession. The conquests extended up to the port of Chittagong, and things were satisfactorily arranged. 'Īsā sent rare presents, and used conciliatory language. He represented that as Ma'ṣūm had, from ill-fatedness, taken the path of ingratitude, he (Ma'ṣūm, apparently) trembled for himself, and wished to do good service at a distance (ghaibānī, i.e. without waiting on Akbar, or Shahbāz). He was now sending his son to Court. The answer was given that it would be good if he (Ma'ṣūm) would go to the Ḥijaz, and come from there to Court. Many Afghans also abandoned Qutlū. He too used cajoleries, and Shahbāz, in his simplicity, accepted these, and gave him back Orissa.

Also, at this time a force was sent to the country of Kokra.[1] This is a tract between Orissa and the Deccan. Mādhū Singh the zamindar there was behaving presumptuously, in reliance on the difficulty of crossing an intervening mountain. The imperialists hastened thither and proceeded to plunder. Much booty was obtained. He had the good fortune to offer tribute, and to obtain repose under the shadow of unequalled dominion.

Also the Magh ruler—which is near Pegu—sent large presents, including elephants, and made propositions of concord. This was one of the marvels of good fortune, for there was no great officer
480 except Wazīr K. Neither was there a fleet, which is the chief means of making war in that country, whereas the enemy had a large supply of war-boats.

One of the occurrences was the coming to Court of Yūsuf K. the ruler of Kashmīr. When the army marched to conquer Kashmīr, the idea of the leaders was that they would go by Bhimbar, as large armies could march by that route with ease and celerity, and also as some of the landholders there used amicable language.

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1 See B. 479 3 where Kokra is said to be the old name of Chutiā Nāgpūr. B. refers to the Fifth Report, old ed. 417, and to the Tūzuk J. 154, 155 where the country is called Kokhra, and described as belonging to the provinces of Bihar and Pannah. The reference to the Fifth Report is to James Grant's account of the province of Bihar. He writes Kokerah.

The idea was that when the roads were cleared of snow, and the winter had come to an end they would advance through the passes. As the retribution of the wicked is a thing that does not endure delay, an order was given that during (the season of) the fall of snow and when the enemy were off their guard, they should proceed by the Paklī [1] route, where less snow falls. They were obliged to give their minds to this. On this news, Yūsuf K. resolved to give battle, and sent off many experienced men in order that they might construct a fort near the river Nain Sukh [2] (the delight of the eyes). In every defile they were to establish a strength and to prepare for war. The force that was sent had passed Bārahmūla by six *kos* when the daily-increasing fortune (of Akbar) became conspicuous. The ruler of Kashmīr erased from his mind the idea of that plan, and he recalled the men he had sent! Under the influence of the talk of short-sighted advisers and of slaves of gold he fell into the heavy slumber of neglect. The difficulty of crossing the passes, the arrival of snow and rain, and the fact of the victorious army's belonging to a hot country made him still more somnolent. Self-indulgence and miserliness stained him with the dust of neglect. When the opportunity had gone out of his hands, he learnt that the strenuous servants had set themselves to conquer the country and had arrived near Paklī. The dust of commotion rose high, and various opinions were brought forward. Whoever casts away far-sightedness, and who in times of prosperity has no thoughts about adversity, shall assuredly arrive at the evil day of the success of the enemy, and the foot of his desires shall strike against the stone of despair. After a little while he in much giddiness again thought of fighting. From time to time, topsyturviness of thought made him still more silly. When the troops aided by Providence had traversed heights and hollows and had come near Būlyās,[3] Yūsuf K. awoke from his presumptuous slumbers, and tried

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[1] Commonly called Pakhlī. It was west of Kashmīr, J. II. 347 and 390. It was a Sarkār and is stated by A. F. to be in general tributary to Kashmīr. It is now known as the Hazāra country. I. G. XIX. 318.

[2] A tributary of the Jhīlam "opposite the T.B. (at Rārū) is a gorge along which the Nain Sukh, 'Eye's delight' rushes with a loud noise to meet the Jhīlam." (Murray's Handbook of the Panjab). The river is now known as the Kunhār.

[3] The expedition of M. Shahrukh

to amend his insubordination. As there was no way of preserving his kingdom except submission and going to do homage, he emerged from the pass of Kuārmast,[1] under pretext of wishing to examine the (intended) battle-field with a few men, and sent a skilled envoy to lay open his secret intention. The officers had been exceedingly harassed by the severe cold, the dearness of provisions, the difficult roads and the rain and snow. They received the envoy and then sent him back, and Yūsuf came with a few confidants of the army on 4 Isfandārmaẕ (about 14th February 1586). They treated him with respect, and had a conference. They then formed the design of returning.

481 When the news came to court, an order was issued that Yūsuf's coming was approved of, and that he would be welcomed with princely favours, but that the idea of the officers about returning was not right. If Yūsuf were not meditating any fraud and was treading the highway of truth, the right thing was that the army should enter the delightful country (of Kashmīr), and, after having taken it, should make it over again to Yūsuf. The officers, willing or unwilling, had to advance. The Kashmīr leaders in their perverted fashion, and from somnolence of intellect, appointed Ḥusain K. Chak as their head, near Kuārmast, and set about fortifying the defile. Just then Ya'qūb, s. Yūsuf, joined them, and they left their new chief, and clove to him. There was daily fighting in the Pass. Madhū Singh, Amīn-ud-dīn and others cleared it, and Ḥasan Beg

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and Rajah Bhagwān marched against Kaşhmīr from the west, and followed the bed of the Jhīlam and the line of the modern road. But they did not get beyond the borders of Kaşhmīr. The Būlyās of text is the Phūlbās of Badāyūnī, Lowe 363, the Bhūliyās of the T. A., Elliot V. 452, and the Bhūlbās of the Tuzuk, J. 292. B. 479 refers to this passage in a note, but he is mistaken in supposing that Jahāngīr says that Bhūlbās is 2½ kos from Bārāmūlah. Bhūlbās or Bhūlyas is evidently the Peliāsa, formerly Bolyasaka, of Dr. Stein's map of Ancient Kashmīr and lies on the right bank of the Jhīlam. It is several stages west of Barāmūla and some 50 miles away from it. At p. 293 Jahāngīr says that it was at the Pass of Bhūlbās that Ya'qūb, the son of Yūsuf, fought with the army commanded by Rajah Bhagwān Dās. At p. 294 Jahāngīr mentions his entry into Barahmūla.

[1] The Kotal Kūārmat کوارمت of the Tuzuk 294. Jahāngīr says it is steep and is the last pass on the road. Apparently it is what is described in Murray as the Barmūla Pass.

Ahadī and some Rājputs acquired deathless fame by sacrificing their lives. Forty men of distinction among the enemy were killed. The foe was dismayed and scattered.

At this time the landholders of Karnā [1] were induced by the address of Shaikh Ya'qūb, Kashmīrī, to come forward and make submission. It was agreed that a force should enter Kashmīr through their villages. Upon this the Kashmīrīs came forward with entreaties and proposed a peace. They represented that their ruler had gone to court, and that so it was right that the dust of dissension should be laid. They proposed that the pulpits and coins should make mention of the Shāhinshāh, and that the mint, the saffron, the silk,[2] and the game should be imperial. A superintendent (*dārogha*) should be appointed for each department, and then the army should return. As the army had been harassed, these proposals were accepted by the endeavours of Yūsuf, the ruler of Kashmīr. The charge of the saffron and silk was made over to Qalandar Beg, that of the mint to Khwājah Mīrakī, and that of the game to Multā Moẓaharī. Though H. M. did not approve of the settlement, he had regard to the circumstances of the army and of the Kashmīrīs and accepted [3] the agreement.

One of the occurrences was the injury to the good service of

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[1] کرنار in I.O. MS. 236 and in Iqbālnāma. It is the Karnāha of Stein's map, and is a tract lying north Bhūlbās. The Karnās or karawānas were originally chaghatais. See T. Rashīdī, Introd. 76 and App. 491.

[2] *Abresham.* Perhaps this means woollen shawls. They are the chief product of Kashmīr and the T. A., Elliot V. 452, and Badāyūnī mention shawls and not silk.

[3] Cf. Elliot V. 452 and Badāyūnī, Lowe 363. It appears that the imperial officers were influenced by the news of Zain K. Koka's defeat. Mr. Lawrence in his excellent book on Kashmīr speaks, p. 193, of Ya'qūb's having defeated Akbar's army with great loss in 1582. Evidently, this refers to Rajah Bhagwān Dās's expedition. Akbar's first attempt on Kashmīr was made much earlier, viz. in the fifth year, when he despatched Qarā Bahādur there. He was defeated by Ghāzī K. A. N. II. 129.

There is a detailed account of the proceedings between Yūsuf and Akbar's officers, and of Ya'qūb's fights with the latter in Ḥaidar Malik's history of Kashmīr. It appears that Yūsuf behaved with great pusillanimity and deserted his army and country. Ya'qūb fought vigorously, and the Moghul army suffered terribly from the cold etc., and were glad to retreat on any terms. Ḥaidar says nothing about the engagement to give the produce of the saffron, etc.

Zain K. Kokaltāsh. When he was sent off to conquer Swād and Bajaur, he began by addressing himself to the conquest of Bajaur. There were 3,000 house-holders of the Yūsufzai there, and they were haughty on account of the difficulties of the passes. The army entered by the way of Dānishkol,[1] and the army had not time to see the routes. Jānesh Bahādur and some other brave takers of cities (*Shahrgīrān*)[2] made an attack, and punished a great number. When the fortunes of the Yūsufzai became bad, Ghāzī K, Mīrzā 'Alī, Ṭā'ūs K, Nazir and other leaders wished to submit, and all over, the thorn of turbulence was uprooted. From there he proceeded to
482 Swād. 40,000 householders lived there. When the army reached the river-bank, the daring ones of the country rose up to fight, the vanguard gave way a little, but the brave *altamsh* came forward, and on seeing this, the vanguard reformed. A hot engage-

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[1] J. 2. 392. Elphinstone, Cabul, II. 36 speaks of Dānishkol as a river. A. F. says in the Ain that it is a road from India. He also mentions it at III. 526 of the A. N.

[2] شهر گیران Shahrgīran. So in text, but the word is unusual, and is probably incorrect. Major Raverty in his Notes on Afghanistan, p. 259, gives a much more probable reading. He has Shahr-i-Gibar, "the city of the infidels", and says that the reference is to Bajaur which is locally called a Shahr, and which was regarded as inhabited by infidels. Bābur calls them infidels, and so justifies his slaying 3000 of them. See also Raverty's p. 117, where he speaks of a cleft or gorge being called Gibar and also of a fortress being so called.

Major Raverty says, p. 257 of his Notes, that the disaster to Akbar's army took place in the Karakar and Malandaraiz Passes, and adds that the army was on its way from Swāt, which they were unable to hold, into Buner, in order to join Akbar at Attock. At p. 262, in a note, he says that the Afghans of Swāt will not allow that the Mughals ever succeeded in entering their valley, and affirm that they were overthrown in the Shāhkot Pass. Shāhkot is marked on Fincastle's map to the south of Chakdara and the Swāt river, and east of Arnandara. I daresay the Afghans are right in saying that Zain K. did not enter the lower Swāt valley, and it is very possible that Shāhkot was the scene of the final disaster. In his report to Akbar Zain K. had stated that Buner was the only place that remained to be conquered. He probably did not cross the Swāt river, but kept along the south side via Karakar, etc. I don't think his object then was to return to Akbar. He was trying to subdue Buner.

ment ensued, and the enemy was defeated and put to flight. The Kokaltāsh laid the foundations of a fort in Chakdara[1], which is the centre of the country, and set himself to chastise the other inhabitants. He was victorious 23 times, and destroyed seven stockades.[2] With the exception of the Karākar defile and the district of Buner, the whole country had been subdued by him. But the soldiers were somewhat worn out by the hill-marches and the frequent conflicts. The Kokaltāsh asked for reinforcements, and H. M. nominated Rajah Bīrbar, Ḥakīm Abūl Fatḥ and others. When they joined, the dust of dissension and double mindedness (*durangē*, lit. two colours) rose up. Previously, there had been hot words between the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah, and the latter and the Ḥakīm were also not on good terms. By the jugglery of fortune they, in spite of their lofty natures, entered the narrows of envy. They could not brook any partnership in the royal favour—which embraces far and near. They could not comprehend this. The adoption of such feelings, besides leading one into the depths of enduring pain, and producing lasting sorrow, is a contending with the incomparable Deity; and results in making oneself the reproach of high and low. From the time when the armies of the plain set off to assist the Kokaltāsh, the Rajah's head and heart were disfigured by wrinkles, and he indulged in such remarks as these to his confidants: "It looks as if my fortune had been inverted that I should have to traverse hill and plain with the Ḥakīm, for the support of the Kokah. When shall the things end?" On the march there were daily, improper expressions used to one another. When they reached Malakand, the Kokaltāsh received them and behaved with cordiality. He set himself to cross the army and the baggage over the Pass. The night wore[3] on to day there. Ḥakīm Abūl Fatḥ went off with some followers to

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[1] I. G. X. 122, but the Fort is on the north side of the Swāt river, and not on the south as the I. G. seems to state. It guards the wire bridge, which used to be the site of a ferry. Chakdara was attacked, and was the scene of much fighting in July 1897. See Churchill's story of the Malakand Field Force, and Viscount Fincastle's Frontier Campaign, both published in 1898.

[2] Text, *lashkar*, but should be *sangar*, as shown by I. O. MS. 236, and the Ma'āṣir II. 364, two lines from foot.

[3] "Shab-hamanjā ba rūz āward."

the fort of Chakdara. The Rajah was angry at this departure and fell into evil thoughts. At dawn they assembled at the fort. The Kokaltāsh arranged a feast, and invited the newcomers. The Rajah ventilated his resentment and would not go. He said that all the able men should gather round the royal Qūr [1] and hold confidential talk there. The Kokaltāsh suppressed his anger and came to the Rajah. Other leaders came there too. The proper thing was to have made over the *Qūr* to the Kokaltāsh and to have assembled in his quarters and held a council. In that meeting the Rajah and the Ḥakīm came from hard language to mutual abuse. By the forbearance of the Koka, things quieted down somewhat. After some unfitting altercation, the Kokaltāsh said:

483 "The hill-work is nearly finished, and the rebels of Karākar and Buner have come forward in a submissive manner. But they have not advanced from words to deeds. I have asked for reinforcements in order that I might leave a body of men in the fort, and then march to punish the malcontents. The fresh army should undertake this task. I and the old army will remain in the centre of the country on guard. Or they might elect to remain at Chakdara and he would go and punish the hillmen." The Rajah and the Ḥakīm replied that they would accept neither proposition. The orders were to attack the country, not to guard it. They should all combine to chastise the enemy and then hasten by that road together to court. The Kokaltāsh replied: "Why should we leave disorganised a country which has come into our hands after so much fighting? Nor is it advisable to go by that route which is so full of heights and hollows. If you don't accept either of my propositions and are resolved to march, it is far better to go back by the way we came. On that side there are troops stationed, and the enemy will have no power to interfere with us. They would not listen to this, and stuck to their first idea. The Kokaltāsh, from an ill-timed submissiveness, put the rules of command on one side. He was afraid lest those eloquent courtiers should make disagreeable remarks (about himself) and that the much-occupied Shāhinshāh would be

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For this phrase see Vullers and Bihar-i-'Ajam s. v. Shab.

1 The qūr was with the reinforcement. Bīrbar used this as evidence that he was supreme.

displeased with him for a time. They were afraid lest they should not be able to accomplish the work by themselves, and that they should be disgraced. By the jugglery of fate it was determined to make an unsuitable march, and a discussion arose about arranging the troops. The Rāja and the Ḥakīm declined, from the apprehension already mentioned (of failure) to take the command of the right and left wings. The command of the right wing was given to Ḥasan[1] Patanī and of the left to Qāẓī[2] ʻAlī. The van was put in charge of Ḥasan Beg Gurd. After much talk the Ḥakīm took his place in the *altamsh* (the reserve of the advanced guard). On 2 Isfandārmuẓ (12th February 1586) they set off for Chakdara towards Karākar,[3] and when they had marched five kos they encamped at the village of Kāndāk (?). Next day, as the road was full of defiles (purtang) they left the right wing as a rear-guard, and encamped half a kos from the defile. The plan was that on this day the guard should make a slight attack and then retire. At dawn when that body (the main army) came to the pass (kotal) a battle began. From time to time victory showed her face, and in a short space the defiles were traversed and much booty was obtained. Thousands of prisoners were made. When the altamsh, which was chiefly composed of Kabulis, heard the news of plunder, they rushed forward, and they were followed by many others of the troops. The Kokaltāsh, who had taken up his stand, was helpless and had also to advance. There was a confused conflict. The Afghāns came from behind and plundered. Ḥasan K. Patanī made a stout fight, but was wounded, and had to retire. The work of the advancing troops became arduous. On perceiving this the Kokaltāsh turned his rein,[4] and planting his foot firmly took part in the conflict. That day and night and the most of the following day there was hard fighting. The Kokaltāsh himself shot down four chiefs, and the Afghāns gave way a little. Although the end 484
of the day brought the joy of victory, yet the loads of the camels

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[1] B. 467.

[2] Apparently Qāẓī ʻAlī Baghdādī.

[3] Karikar pass is marked on Mr. Churchill's map, "E. S. E. Chakdara."

[4] That is, he turned back to the rear guard with which the right wing had been amalgamated. The latter had been commanded by Ḥasan Patanī, but he had been wounded.

and bullocks were plundered; what was on the elephants and mules was brought into camp. Next day they advanced six kos and halted near Khānpūr (Raverty's Notes, 262). The Koka took charge of the rear-guard, and after fighting all the way reached the station. He went to the Rāja's tent and had a consultation. He recited in eloquent language the previous discussions, blamed the haste that had been shown, and spoke of his own better judgment. The question was what should be done now. As little of the road remained to be traversed, his audience did not take into account the heights and hollows. So they all replied that the proper course was to get through the defile and then to halt for some days and then renew the punishment of the rebels. The Kokaltāsh represented that the defiles in front of them were the worst of all, and that to go by such a route would be to cast away their honour. The proper course was to build a wall at the station where they were, for it was fairly spacious. There was no danger of their being attacked from the heights,[1] and there was abundance of water and grass, and plenty of food. Here they should stand firm and afterwards inflict punishment on the presumptuous rebels who had taken possession of all the heights. Another course was that as they had in their hands the enemy's families and much of their property, they might write soothingly to them, and take from them promises of obedience. They might return the prisoners, keeping some as hostages. If this proposition also be not approved, they could halt for a time and send news to court. An army would come from there and guard the top of the Pass.

As heaven's decree was otherwise, the others stuck to their own opinions, and thought what was in reality their loss was their gain. On 6 Isfandārmaz (16th February 1586) they proceeded towards the Balandarī[2] Pass. The Koka prudently took upon himself the charge of the rear-guard, and a harder battle than that of the previous day ensued. When they had marched a little way, and it became evening, the camp (urdū, here perhaps the main body of the army) thought that what was but the beginning of a great defile was the top of the pass. So they halted. But when the Koka came up, it became known that it was necessary to

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[1] *āsīb-ī sirkob*. Text wrongly has *asp*.

[2] J. II. 391.

traverse another defile before they could come to the top of that winding way. As there were heights (*sarkobhā*) close by, an attempt was made to push forward. It was arranged that the vanguard should get to the top of the defile, and take possession of the heights, while the camp should remain below, and should get through the difficult pass as soon as it was light. As the Afghāns were pressing on them from behind, the Kokaltāsh and some brave men turned back. Others thought that the untimely march and pushing forward of the vanguard indicated that the defile had been traversed. So they pressed on, and the proper rules of marching were disregarded. Though efforts were made to make them understand and to turn them back, they were of no avail. The Afghāns fiercely attacked them from every side with arms and stones, and the troops in their ignorance and confusion rushed down from the top of the hill to the low ground. In that crowding they lost heart, and elephants, horses and men got mixed up. A multitude threw away their lives, though many brave men stood their ground and valiantly sacrificed themselves. At the end of the day some got through the defile and came on to the low ground. 485
The Kokaltāsh was on the point of yielding up his life, but Jānish Bahādur seized his rein and drew him out. After going some way he, on account of there being no path, dismounted, and after a hundred difficulties got to the camp. Foolish babblers called out that the Afghāns are coming after us, and they went on in a disorderly manner. In the darkness the men lost the track, and got into the defiles. The Afghāns had stopped to seize and divide the spoil. Next day many of the stragglers lost their lives, and some were made prisoners. In the turmoil as many as 500[1] lost their

[1] Elphinstone remarks in a note to his history: "Abul Fazl must have been minutely informed of the real history of this transaction, but his anxiety to soften the disgrace of Akbar's army and to refrain from anything that may reflect on Bīr Bal was so great, that his account is confused and contradictory..... As a proof of the defects I have ascribed to him, I may mention that although he begins with a full and even eloquent description of the total destruction of the army, he concludes by stating the loss at 500 men." Khāfī K. says, 40 to 50,000 men were killed. Ferishta following the Ṭabaqāt Akbarī puts the number at 8000.

The best or at least the fullest

lives. Among those known to H.M. were Rāja Bīrbar, Ḥasan Patanī Gadā Beg, Rāja Dharmkand Sankar, Khān Muh. Mullā Sherī,[1] ʻArab Shaikh Khakka, Mullā Ghayūrī, Jān Muh. Bakhshī, Shaikh Junaid, S. Ḥamīd Farmulī Bahādur, Amān Ullāh Sʻaīd.

On the 7th[2] the news of the disaster reached H.M. The deaths of loyal servants, and especially the death of Rāja Bīrbar, his spiritual companion, grieved him exceedingly, and his heart turned away from everything. As dignity consists in outward restraint and not in abandonment (to grief), H.M., as the Primate of the spiritual kingdom, preserved external composure. For two[3] days and nights he did not take his daily food and drink. By the efforts of Maryam Makānī, and the lamentations of his faithful servants, he was prevailed upon to take food. His design[4] was to plant the

account of the Yūsufza'ī disaster seems to be that given by Khāfī K. in the Muntakhab-al-Lubāb I. 191 *et seq*. He says that every one in Bīr Bal's force was killed, and that Zain K. and Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ escaped because they were not there. They remained behind and were in ignorance of Bīrbal's (or Bīrbar) attempt to get through the defile. Khāfī K. says that the number of killed amounted to 40 or 50,000. He appears to call Rāja Dharm-Kand, Rāja Dhīr. A.F. says little about Rāja Todar Mal's success in chastising the Yūsufza'īs afterwards, but the T.A., Elliot V. 452, says, he built forts etc., and reduced the Afghāns to great straits.

The Iqbālnāma gives a detailed account of Zain K.'s speech to Bīrbar. It says that more than 2 or 3000 men were killed in the expedition.

[1] A distinguished poet. See B. 610, etc. It would appear from B. 197 that Shrī, though a courtier, satirised Akbar's pretensions to Divinity. See Badāyūnī, Lowe, 319. There is a long account of the poet in Badāyūnī III. 248.

[2] A. F. does not tell us what the month was. It cannot have been Isfindārmuz, unless the 7th be a mistake for the 27th, for Zain K. and Bīrbar only began their fatal march on the 6th Isfandārmaz (see text, p. 484). The Ṭabaqāt and Badayūnī say that the defeat took place on 5 Rabi'ul-awwal 994). This would correspond to 14 February 1586, or nearly to some day of the first week of Isfindārmuz. Zain K. and the Ḥakīm waited on Akbar at Attock.

[3] This is according to the MSS. Text makes the time only 24 hours, and misses out the conjunction between food and drink.

[4] Meaning that he thought of going there in person. The T.A. says Bīrbar hurried on without consulting Zain K. Evidently he was mainly responsible for the disaster, and one cannot help wondering why Akbar chose a boon companion for such an

royal standards on those hills and to punish the wicked tribe, but at the entreaty of his loyal followers he refrained from this. On the 9th [1] that jewel of the diadem, Prince Sulṭān Murād, and many devoted servants were sent off. Rāja Todar Mal accompanied the prince.

On the same day the army crossed the Indus and the Kābul river, and encamped at Miṣr.[2] Agreeably to H.M.'s orders Zain K. Koka, Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ and Qāẓī 'Alī of the former army joined the force. Though in the eyes of the superficial a defeat had occurred, and there had been a disaster, in consequence of envy and incapacity, yet in the eyes of the profound it was the beginning of a great victory. From the days of Ulugh Beg, the Yūsufza'ī tribe, which was more than 100,000 strong, had, by the help of their difficult mountains, practised highway robbery. They had caused much injury to traffic and intercourse. The Kābul rulers had not the strength to chastise them and the rulers of India on account of pressure of other business, and the chatter (*hamzabānī*) of persons of small capacity, had not attended to this matter. At this time the holy idea was to restrain (the Yūsufza'ī) from injuring people, and from evil ways and to make them obedient and serviceable. An evil habit which is of long standing, and has been inherited 486
from ancestors, is with difficulty eradicated. Clemency is not inclined to sever the thread of life. It does not put to death great criminals. It looks to destiny, and waits for the wondrous working of fortune. When the armies that were sent were appointed, endeavours were made not to be hasty in killing the sons of men, who are fruit-bearing plants, and the sublime foundation of God.

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expedition, or why he did not reject the arbitrament of the lots. The Khulāṣa T. has a long eulogism on Bīrbar and says that Akbar remarked that his death was the greatest grief he had experienced since coming to the throne. As pointed out by the author of the Ma'ā Ṣir there is a letter of Akbar to the Khān-Khānān, among Abul Faẓl's letters, in which Bīrbar's death is bewailed.

[1] This probably means the 9th Rabi'ul-awwal. Badāyūnī states that Murād was sent across the Indus because there was a rumour that the Afghāns were going to attack Attock, but that afterwards the prince was recalled, and Todar Mal was sent.

[2] Apparently some place in the Yūsufza'ī country. At p. 495 of text a Yūsufza'ī leader is described as Miṣrī.

Whenever the victorious generals sent batches of those wayward and crooked-minded ones to court, they were given gold and robes of honour, and were released. Inasmuch as the time of retribution had arrived, the stewards of Fate caused such an aspect of things (as the defeat), and the life-cups of the brave and loyal were spilt in good service, and they earned a good name. The Shāhinshāh perceived that kindness required the punishment (of the Yūsufza'ī) and that it was proper to erase the record of their existence. In the opinion of the men of the age it was next to impossible to clear the hill country of the tribe, but in a short space a great clearance was made. A large [1] number were killed, and many were sold into Tūrān and Persia. The country of Sawād, Bajaur, and Buner which has few equals for climate, fruits, and cheapness of food, was cleansed of the evil [2]-doers.

One of the occurrences was the victory of Kunwar Mān Singh. When it was reported that the Tūrān ambassador and Naẓir Bé were coming with a large caravan, and that the Khaibar was somewhat impassable on account of the wickedness of presumptuous men (the Raushānīs), he sent S. Farīd Bakhshī to guide them to court. When he came to Jamrūd, Mādhū Singh (s. Bhagwān Dās) and some others were sent by Mān Singh to join him; they entered the Khaibar and joined the caravan at Daka. Mān Singh with a force hastened to 'Alī Masjīd. The Tārīkīs, thinking the force a small one, invested 'Alī Masjīd on a dark night and several of them got to the top of the fort. Brave men stood firm and prevailed against the enemy. Shāh Beg K. and his son also performed masterpieces of valour. The wicked men gave up the investment of the fort and took post on another height. They sate there and meditated evil, but at dawn the brave men drove them off and killed many of them. On the 7th, at the beginning of the day, the (news of the coming of the) ruler of Kashmīr arrived, at midday came the news of the death of Rāja Birbar, and at the close of the day came this joyful news (the victory at 'Alī Masjid). Next day the Tūrān caravan reached the Serai of Khairābād on the other side of the Indus. On receiving this news H.M. on account of the ruler of

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[1] J. II. 393, 2nd para.

[2] Elphinstone describes this passage as a curious instance of A. F.'s adulation and inconsistency.

Tūrān's having sent choice pigeons of that country along with Ḥabīb [1] pigeon-fancier (*kabūtarbāz*), who was famous among pigeon-sports-men, sent for him and that family of delight (the pigeons), before 487
the ambassador had had the honour of an audience, and gathered happiness. Also on this day Naẓr Bé and his sons Qambar Bé, Shādī Bé and Bāqī Bé did homage by prostrating themselves at the holy threshold and so had their foreheads glorified.

One of the occurrences was that the ambassador from Tūrān had an audience. When the world-conquering standards reached the bank of the Indus, and the design of marching to Zābulistan became conspicuous, and the Khaibar Pass, which used to be traversed with difficulty by horses and camels, had been made passable for wheels, and a bridge had been made over the Indus, there was a tremendous agitation in the country of Tūrān. From fear of a rapid march of the World's Lord, the gates [2] of Balkh were generally kept closed. 'Abdullāh K. the ruler of Tūrān had the enlighten-ment and discernment to have recourse to deprecatory behaviour, and tendered supplications. He sent Mīr Quraish, who belonged to a noble family of Saiyids, with choice horses, strong camels, swift mules, animals of the chase, and choice *postīn*s (dressing-gowns) and other rarities of the country. He also sent an affectionate letter and pulled at the chain of friendship. As H.M. was some-what troubled in his mind on account of the disaster of Rāja Bīrbar, the ambassador for some days did not have an audience. This was disconcerting to him, and when H.M. learnt this, he had compassion on the visitors and gave permission for an audience. On the 21st (Isfindārmuẓ = 1 March 1586), there was a princely festival in the Diwānkhāna which had been recently erected, and the ambassador was exalted by prostrating [3] himself at the holy threshold. He produced before H.M. the rarities of that country (Tūrān).

One of the occurrences was the recall of Prince Sulṭān Murād.

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[1] Doubtless the Ḥabīb of Shahr-sabz of B. 302. Ḥabīb is also referred to in terms of great praise in a letter of Akbar to the Khān-Khānān in Part I of A. F.'s letters, in which his arrival with the pigeons is des-cribed.

[2] *Darwāzā*. Perhaps this only means the approaches.

[3] *Basujūd-ī-qudsī āstān*. "By prostration at the holy threshold." But either this is a mere flourish or A. F. has forgotten or omitted to explain what he has said above at the

Rāja Todar Mal represented as follows: "On the day when H.M. was going to take the field in person, the task had, at the entreaty of the grandees, been made over to the nursling of fortune, Murād. It is proper that auspicious sons should be sent to conquer distant countries, and to subdue great rulers, and that the present work should be made over to a servant." H.M. accepted what was said and recalled the Prince. He sent off Kunwar Mān Singh—who was near Jamrūd [1] and was meditating the punishment of the Tārīkīs—on this service, in order that he might carry it out, in accordance with the views of the Rāja (Todar Mal). Mān Singh established his camp on the bank of the river (the Indus) in the direction of Buner and near Ohand,[2] which was one of the great cities of old times, and concerning which a mound of earth now speaks eloquently! He established a fort there and set about civilising the country. Rāja Todar Mal established a camp near the Lungar hills (Koh-i-Lungar)[3] which belong to Sawād.

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foot of p. 272. There he says that such was Akbar's reverence for the family of the Prophet that he would not allow his descendants to put their heads at his feet or rub their foreheads at the threshold of fortune. Now he has just told us that the ambassador was of a noble Saiyid family, and his name shows that he belonged to Muḥammad's tribe of the Quraish!

1 Forts in the Punjāb near entrance to Khaibar. See I. G. and Murray's Handbook to the Punjāb.

2 Text has *nazdīk-i-Sind* "near the Indus." But this is a mistake for *nazdik-i-Ahund* (Ohand or Ohind) as I.O. MS. No. 238, and Chalmers' translation, see Noer's Akbar, translation II. 182, show. For Ohind see Jarrett II. 404 n. 6. It is N. E. Attock and on right bank of Indus. It was a Buddhist city. See Elliot I. 48. Raverty T. N. 78 note says the proper spelling is Uhand. He thinks the name is modern, but this is contrary to A. F.'s statement. Ohind is described under the form Und in the I. G. XXIV. 130.

3 Perhaps this is the Lundkhwar of the Govt. map. It is west of Ambala and on the other side of the hills from Ohind. Evidently the object was to shut up the Afghāns in their hills and by blocking up the exits on both sides to starve them into submission. Todar Mal was too cautious to venture into the hills which had been so fatal to Rāja Bīrbar and his army. Tiefenthaler describes Langarkoh as a strong fort near the district of Swād, I. 86. Langar-koti is also mentioned in the A. N. III. 510, second last line. It is referred to at p. 248 of Raverty's Notes.

Brave men seized those two exits of the Afghāns and made things difficult for them. Every day active men entered the hill-country from either side, great endeavours were made to chastise the wicked 488
by capturing them and by plundering. As they were helpless they had recourse to entreaties, and the dust of commotion was laid. A new freshness was imparted to the Age.[1]

[1] I.O. MS. 235 inserts here—at the end of the thirtieth year, the *khāṭima* or conclusion which occurs at the end of the 2nd volume of Bib. Ind. and also the preface of the 3rd volume.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 31ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT. THE YEAR MIHR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

The parterre-adorner of sovereignty (the sun) brightened the face of joy with the news of the arrival of the New Year. His servants adorned hill and plain, and joined form and spirituality. On the eve of Friday, 29 Rabi'-ul-awwal 994, 10 or 11 March 1586, after the passing of eleven hours, thirty-seven minutes, he cast his rays on Aries. The city became fragrant, the plains grew beautiful.

Verse.[1]

You complained just now that the leaf-scattering Bahman had arrived.
Look up and behold the garden, for Bahman has passed away.
In the thunder of the sky hear the sound of the drum.
The world holds a bridal, for the garden
Comes in bridal dress.

The sagacious sovereign celebrated a great feast, and made great and small partakers of joy. On 19 Farwardīn (28 March 1586) —which was the supreme feast—Mīrzā Shāhrukh, Rāja Bhagwant Dās, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and other officers obtained an interview. They brought the ruler of Kashmīr to court. He was privately asked why the kindnesses of the Shāhinshāh had passed from his memory, and why the influence of his son—who had fled from the court—had increased, and had by stratagems turned back the victorious army. Why had he himself not added the glory of acts to his talk about peace? He had the grace to be ashamed, and to reply by silence. H.M., out of kindness, had resolved upon restoring Kashmīr to him, but the imperial servants represented that he

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[1] This quatrain has already appeared at the beginning of the 29th year. See p. 431.

ought to have some punishment for his backslidings, and that Kashmīr should first be conquered, and afterwards restored to him. H.M. accepted this view and made him over to Rāja Todar Mal.

On the same day, the troops that had been sent to Balūchistān arrived, and Ghāzī K., Chīta, Bahādur K., Nuṣrat K., Ibrāhīm K. and other Balūc leaders were received. When the troops went to that country, the land-owners were at first somewhat refractory. But as there was goodness in their dispositions, they quickly understood what was right, and took the path of supplication. Their prayers were granted, and they were honoured with robes and horses. The country was restored to them.

Also, on this day Rāja Todar Mal returned from the hill-country of the Yūsufza'īs and did homage. He made over the chastisement 489 of the Afghāns to Rāja Mān Singh.

One of the occurrences was that the troops attacked Berār. It is a country in the south, and is adjacent to Mālwa, and so an account of it has been given in the final[1] volume.

Inasmuch as the rulers of the Deccan did not obey properly, the Khān A'zam Mīrzā Koka was appointed to punish them. He went to Hindia, and arranged for an expedition. He sent a body of troops and took Fort Sānolī[2] from Nāhar[3] Rāo. The latter submitted, and so did the other landholders, after a slight conflict. H.M. gave choice pieces of Mālwa to M. Koka in fief. When the appointed officers met, there arose dissensions among them. The C. in C. became confused on account of suspicions,[4] and the work fell out of gear. Shihābud-dīn Aḥmad K. was vexed, and went off to his jāgīr without leave. The C. in C. came after him in order to fight him. Instead of having recourse to supplications, he (Shihāb) prepared for battle; though, by the endeavours of prudent men a contest was averted, they did not act together. In consequence of the intrigues of foolish persons, Tūlak K.[5] who was an old (bābarī) officer, became sus-

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[1] That is, in the Aīn A.

[2] The Sheola, or Senola of the Aīn, J. II. 234. It was in Sarkār Narnālah.

[3] Mentioned in J. II. 229.

[4] M. Koka disliked Shihāb because he suspected him of having been accessary to the murder of his father. Badayūni, Lowe, 372. Badayūni says that Raisīn was the jagir to which Shihāb went. See also Elliot, p. 441.

[5] This is Tūlak Qūchīn, a very old servant of the empire. Bloch-

pected, and was sent to prison. That memorial of former sages, Amīr Fatḥullāh Shīrāzī, was much harassed, and returned from the ruler of Khāndes without having effected anything. He sorrowfully went to the Khān-Khānān in Gujārat. The soldiers were perplexed by the delays and dissensions. The enemy who had been alarmed, took courage. Rāja 'Alī the ruler of Khāndes, Farhād K., Jamshīd K., Azdar K., Mīr Ṭoqī and the rest of the Berār and Aḥmadnagar armies gathered together and set off to give battle. The imperial grandees awoke in some measure from the sleep of negligence, and assembled to consult. How could the work be carried on when the friend was not distinguished from the foe, nor humility from hypocrisy? From their double-mindedness, they did not see in themselves the strength to fight. Nor could they act unanimously. They turned aside from confronting the enemy, and went off to Berār. They sent their baggage to a place of retreat (gosha, a corner) and went off rapidly. On the route, Hatīā[1] Rāo, a land-owner, was put to death on suspicion of his acting a double part. Without proper inquiry, a body of troops was sent hastily to Kherla, and it did not effect its purpose. Much injury happened to the baggage-animals. After many exertions they found Berār empty and ravaged it. On New
490 Year's Day they took Elichpūr, the capital, and plundered it. Some were of opinion that they should not draw rein till they reached Aḥmadnagar, but a large number thought that they should keep hold of such a flourishing country, and that they should march gradually. After the talk of ignorant men, no one put his hand to any work. The army, having with it abundance of spoil, proceeded to Gujarāt. The idea was that when the enemy came up, and things should become critical, the soldiery of Gujarāt would be stirred up to render

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mann, in his account of him, at p. 445, says, he had indulged in slander, but this seems to be an incorrect translation of a passage in the Ma'āṣir U. I. 478. What the Ma'āṣir says is that Ṭūlak was the victim of slanderers. The Iqbālnāma also speaks of him as unequalled for courage and generalship, and says he was suspected without cause, and imprisoned. Badāyūnī says that 'Azīz Koka was also very rude to Fatḥullāh Shīrāzī and abused him in public. This is likely enough, for 'Azīz Koka had always an unbridled tongue.

[1] Hatīa is mentioned in the Ā'īn, J. II. 229. The Iqbālnāma seems to call him Hatīa Nahara. This name is also mentioned in the Ā'īn, l.c.

help, and that the spoil would not be lost.[1] The enemy was astonished at his turning back and proceeded to take advantage of it They left their artillery and other equipage behind and followed (the imperialists). They sacked Hindia, and set fire to it. No strength remained to the imperial troops on account of their having had to march through so many difficult defiles. Many men could not keep up. The imperial troops were seen to be retreating, and the dust raised by (the enemy's) scouts became visible. A portion of the imperial army had a fight near the town of Chāndaur with the land-holders there. Though much plunder was obtained, Ḥājī[2] 'Abdullāh Sulṭān Kāshgharī was killed. He was the son of 'Abdur-Rashīd, the ruler of Kāshghar. Near Khāndes, Muḥ. Qulī Uzbeg deserted from the enemy and joined the imperial army. He described the weakness and fewness of the foe, and represented that if they turned round and gave battle they would be victorious. They could bind him, if they liked, and take him back with them. If his account did not turn out to be correct, they could kill him. A council was held, and by the endeavours of experienced men a battle was resolved upon. One day was spent in preparation. Owing to the prating of unexperienced men, and the fears of the general, the drums of retreat were beaten at dawn. They went on rapidly without keeping in touch with one another. The animals and the baggage went off at night while the officers marched by day. The courage of the enemy was increased by this behaviour, and they pursued with boldness. Twice there was a slight engagement between the rearguard and the enemy's van, and the latter was defeated. Though they did not recognize their superiority, and the Deccan was surrendered after it had been gained, yet much booty was obtained. On the 22nd they halted at Nadarbār, and

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[1] As shown by the account in the Iqbālnāma and also in text, much of the spoil was eventually lost. But the translation in Elliot VI. 85, "leaving the baggage", is misleading. It was not lost or abandoned then. When A. F. says, text 489, that the baggage was put in a corner, he means, I think, that it was left somewhere in safety. 'Azīz K. did not at first retire from the enemy, he went off to the Berārs, but he could not hold them and his idea of coming back from Gujarāt to recover the baggage failed.

[2] He was a commander of 700 and half-brother of Quraish Sulṭān, B. 459.

rested. Before this, some Deccanīs had come into that region, and stirred up strife. The land-agents of Qulīj K. had not treated the peasantry with consideration, and had departed. When the imperial army arrived, the thorn of rebellion was uprooted, and the enemy retired from Khāndes. The Khān A'ẓam went on rapidly to Gujarāt, with the thought that he would get help from the army of that province. The Khān-Khānān considered his coming an honour, and gave him a warm welcome. He quickly collected a choice force, and joined him. But on account of the talk of evil men, they took a perverse course. They sent Mīr Abū Turāb to interview the Deccanis and to arrange for a peace, and then every one returned to his fief. The enemy was delighted at this result and sent presents (*peshkash*). Mīrzā Koka marched out from Māndū and attacked Ḥamīr
491 Jetpūrī and inflicted suitable punishment on him. He is one of the Mālwa Zamīndārs. When the army went off to Berar, he, finding the country unprotected, fell upon Mandū and ravaged several places. Some parts he set on fire. They say that one of the supporters of that land-holder asked encouragement from an enthusiast.[1] The latter got angry and said, "Who dares to stretch out the hand of oppression on the territory of the spiritual and temporal monarch (Akbar)," and slew him with his dagger.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rāja Bhagwant Dās to Zābulistān (Afghānistān). When Kunwar Mān Singh was sent to punish the Yūsufza'ī, the Rāja, who was commanding in the Panjāb, was appointed to that service (Afghānistān). On account[2] of his

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[1] The passage is obscure. But I think that the I.O. MS. 236 by putting an iẓāfat after *rabūda* removes the difficulty. The words *rabūda-i-īzdī* mean, I think, one carried away by a Divine enthusiasm. In the Ā'īn, text, I. 561, we have *rabūdagī* used in the sense of ecstacy or madness. See also A.N. III. 637, six lines from foot where the words rabūda-i-khāmosh are applied to the madman Payīnda of Sind.

[2] Rāja Bhagwān went mad about this time: see next chapter. Badayūnī, Lowe, 364, implies that this was due to Akbar's having violated the safe-conduct which the Rāja had given to Yūsuf the ruler of Kashmīr. Akbar imprisoned Yūsuf, and, according to Badāyūnī, wanted to kill him.

"Bhagwān Dās, in order to save his safe-conduct and sense of honour struck himself with a dagger." But there was probably madness in the Ambēr family, for Bhagwān's daughter, the wife of Jahāngīr, poisoned herself.

evil star, he propounded certain improper desires, and the sovereign, surmising madness, restrained him from going. An order was issued to experienced men to prepare Sulṭān Daniel for this service. Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ismā'īl Qulī and many other officers were appointed to accompany him. Thereupon Rāja Bhagwant Dās repented a thousand times of what he had said, and apologised and begged for forgiveness. H.M. accepted his apologies and on the 23rd he was allowed to go with many other prudent servants.[1]

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[1] The account in this chapter of the Berār and Deccan campaign of 'Azīz Koka should be compared with the T. Akbarī account in Elliot V. 442, 443 and with Badāyūni, Lowe, pp. 372 and 373. Perhaps peace was made with the Deccānīs because Akbar wanted the Khān-Khānān's services in Northern India.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

Return of H.M. towards Fatḥpūr.[1]

H.M. spent three months and twelve days pleasantly in Attock-Benares. Though he spent some time in hunting, some time in the blacksmith's shop in looking after gun-making, and some time in practising with a gun in the daulatkhāna (royal precincts?), and also night and day transacted political and financial business, yet his real design was to spend some time on the banks of the Indus in order to punish the Yūsufza'ī, and thereafter to proceed into Zābulistān (Afghānistān). But, on account of the dismay of the Tūrānians, the entreaty of the ambassador from that country, and the dearness of provisions, he determined to turn back. On the 24th[2] (Farwardīn), after the lapse of one watch of the night, he proceeded towards India, and thereby heaped happiness on abundance of men. On 15 Ardībihisht (24 April 1586), he crossed the Jhelam by a bridge, and halted for a time. On this day the paternal aunts[3] of M. Shāhrukh, and the latter's middle son Shāh Muḥ. Mīrzā, and some Kābulis waited on him. At the time when the royal standards were on the banks of the Indus, those chaste and secluded ladies had petitioned to the effect that they had a keen desire to kiss his threshold. Their weariness and weakness had deprived them of this bliss. Khānzāda Khānim came with the Mīrzās to Kabul, and, from a desire to pay her respects, she set off for India. She joined in with M. Shāhrukh, and then there happened what has
492 already been mentioned. She was helpless and had to stay in Gardez, where she was rejoicing in the company of the Mīrzā's son.

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[1] He did not get to Fatḥpūr then, and the Iqbālnāma changes the heading to "Lahore."

[2] The Ṭabaqāt A. has 24 Rabī'u-ṣ-ṣānī (4 April?).

[3] These two ladies, Khānzāda Khānim and Begum Sulṭān, were daughters of M. Sulaimān. The second one went with her father to Mecca, and on her return was married to one of the Mīrzās of Qandahār.

Begam Sulṭān had accompanied M. Sulaimān to the Ḥijāz and in Persia. On account of her marriage she stayed some time in Qandahār. When she got an opportunity, she came to Kābul. When this was known, H.M. sent Ulugh Beg Kābulī, and an order was issued that Khwāja Shamsud-dīn should provide the equipment and send them off. At this stage (the Jhelam) they had the bliss of doing homage. Ḥaīdar Ālī, Shādmān Hazāra, and Naẓr Beg, who, on account of their evil conduct, had not come before, brightened their foreheads by doing homage, and were exalted by princely favours.

One of the occurrences was Rāja Bhagwant Dās's becoming mad. When he took leave to go to Kábul, he crossed the Indus, and put up in the serai of Khairābād. For some days he looked after military matters. Suddenly, his intellect grew darkened, and he became very giddy. They were compelled to bring him back to Attock, and to place him under care. A physician named Sāmān was feeling his pulse, when suddenly he drew his dagger and wounded himself. On hearing this, H.M. sent Ḥakīm[1] Ḥasan and Mahādev along with Khangār and Daulat K. in order that the Rāja's friends might employ whichever of the four they preferred. They chose Mahādev, and after a long time he got better.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Kunwar Mān Singh to Qābulistān. When Rāja Bhagwān Dās fell ill, Ismā'īl Qulī was sent in his room. He, from inexperience and selfishness (*garm-bāzārī*), formed crude wishes, and indulged in idle thoughts. He fell out of favour, and an order was given that he should be put on board a boat and shipped off, *viâ* Bhakar, to the Ḥijāz. He awoke somewhat from his somnolence, and had recourse to supplications. Though his apologies were accepted, he was removed from his post and ordered to chastise the Yūsufza'ī. Mādhū Singh, Sa'īd K. Gakhar, Abul-Qāsim Tamkīn and the servants of Rāja Bhagwant Dās were nominated to assist him. Kunwar Mān Singh and another force were sent to Kābul.

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Arab Bahādur. He chose a residence in the hill country of Bahrā'ich to the north of Dugāon[2] and near a black mountain. By the help of evil-minded

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[1] B. 542 and 544.

[2] Dūgūn, دوگون in text. In Ain J. II. 176 we have, "In the vicinity of the town (Bahrā'ich) there is a

Zamīndārs he established a fort there, and used to go about plundering, and then take refuge there. One day he had gone off rapidly. Kharak Rāi, a landholder, sent his son Dūla Rāi to attack the fort, and he took with him some followers of Ḥakīm Abul fatḥ who were in that neighbourhood. They marched 25 kos and reached the fort. The garrison thought it was 'Arab, and did not take
493 measures to defend the place. By their activity they got possession of it, and having seized the choice goods there, they set out on their return 'Arab heard of this and lay in ambush for them. Dūla had sent off the goods, and had halted to eat. Suddenly, 'Arab attacked the baggage, and the men abandoned it and fled. Dūla and some brave men came up, and defeated 'Arab. Many were killed and some were made prisoners, and some ran away. That turbulent fellow ('Arab) and some others got into a side-path,[1] and Dūla, on hearing of this pursued them, and put an end to 'Arab.

On the eve of the 16th the daughter of Rāja Bhagwant Dās gave birth to a daughter[2] in the house of Prince Sulṭān Salīm, and

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village called Dokon which for a long time possessed a mint for copper coinage." Dūgāon is on the edge of the table-land, and on the banks of the Sarjū, about four miles west of Nānpāra. It is now deserted, but there are the remains of a very large and substantially built town. It is said to have become deserted at the end of Shāh Jahān's reign in consequence of a saint named Shāh Sājan, whose tomb is still there, having cursed the place (Gazetteer of Oudh, Lucknow, 1877), I. 114. On a copper coin figured by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, No. 19 of Plate XX, J.A.S.B. for 1880, p. 213, the name is written Dokanu or Dogānwa. Nānpār (called Nāndpāra in Tiefenthaler, I. 290) is 22 m. N. Bahrā'ich. It is described in I.G. XVIII. 367. There is an elaborate article on the Dogām mint by Dr. Vost, J.A.S.B. for 1899, pp. 69 and 74. The Ṭaba-qāt Akbarī refers to 'Arab's death, Elliot .V. 453, and Badāyūnī says "his head came rolling down from the mountains of Kumāon, and found its resting place on the pinnacles of the fort of Lahore (Lowe, 364).

[1] Text جای a place. The Maa'āṣir N. II. 773 and I.O. MS. 236 have جانبی jāniba, a side, or siding, and this is probably the true reading. The meaning seems to be that they took their way, and so got separated from their companions. The variant *cāhī*, a well, is probably a guess. It is not likely that three men would fall into a well. The Iqbālnāma has wādī, a watercourse. Badāyūnī, Lowe, 364, says the general report was that 'Arab died a natural death.

[2] The 16th Ardībihisht corresponds to about 26th April 1586. She died during her father's lifetime and is buried in the Khusrau Bāgh, Allahābād, near her mother.

there were various rejoicings. The horoscope according to the Greek method gave 18 degrees of Sagittarius and according to Hindū calculation it was 1 degree 41 minutes. The enlightened sovereign called her Sulṭān Khirad and, contrary to the usage of contemporaries, he had an assemblage to render thanksgivings. There was a great feast in the house of Maryam Makānī, and there was a presentation of gifts, and there was largesse.

Also, at this time Mīrzā Shāhrukh and some heroes were sent to conquer Kashmīr, as the Kashmīrians had cast aside the peace, and their deceit was manifest. The Mīrzā was appointed to punish the promise-breakers. As it appeared that the Mīrzā's heart was not in the work, and that the thoughts of love for his native land did not leave him in his natural state, he was relieved from the task, and attention was given to the appointment of some one else.

When the mind of H.M. was somewhat relieved from affairs, he ordered a march from the banks of the Jhelam. On 5 Khurdād he crossed the Cīnāb at the "Shop-keeper's" Ferry near Kanjā by a bridge.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

The illumination of Lahore by the advent of the Shahinshah.

The idea of most people was that the world's Khedive would not turn his rein till he arrived at Fatḥpūr. But the sovereign of an awakened heart did not yield to such a wish, and the pleasant palaces of that city did not engage his heart. His sole thought was that he would stay for a while in the Panjāb, and would give peace to the Zābulī land (Afghānistan), cleanse Swād and Bajaur of the
494 stain of rebellion, uproot the thorn of the Tārīkīān (the Raushānīs) from Tīrāh and Bangash, seize the garden of Kashmīr, and bring the populous country of Tatta (Scinde) within the empire. Furthermore, should the ruler of Tūrān remove the foot of friendliness, he would send a glorious army thither, and follow it up in person. With these profound views he resolved to spend some time in Lāhore the capital. He traversed 112½ *kos* from Attock-Benares in twenty-six marches and reached Lahore on the night of the 15th (Khurdād), 27th May 1586. He selected for his residence the houses of Rāja Bhāgwant Dās. Every section of mankind had their heart desires gratified. The market people gathered profits, and some light penetrated to the bigoted and conventional. On 21 Tīr, 12 June 1586, the lunar weighment took place, and that noble personality was, according to the annual custom, weighed against eight things, and the wishes of the needy of the time were satisfied.[2]

At this time the marriage-feast of Prince Sulṭān Salīm took place. When it was brought to his august notice that Rāi Rai

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[1] This date corresponds to 5 Rajab 994 and consequently to the anniversary of Akbar's birth according to the Muḥammadan calendar. There is some confusion both in the T. Akbarī, and in the translation from it in Elliot V. 453. The T. Akbarī puts the events of the 31st year of the reign into the 32nd (Badāyūnī has animadverted on this mistake), and Elliot on p. 453 has wrongly got the date of 13 Rajab as that of the weighment, instead of 5. See Newal Kishor's ed., p. 370.

[2] By the articles being afterwards distributed to them.

Singh desired that his chaste child might enter the Prince's harem, the appreciative Shāhinshāh granted his request, and arranged for the marriage presents and for the materials of joy. On the 16th (Tīr), 26th June, he, together with the princes and grandees went to the house of that fortunate one (Rāi Rāi Singh), and in an auspicious hour the joyful union took place. There was a daily market of joy. Also about this time the daughter of Sa'īd K. Gakkar entered the service of that nursling of the Caliphate and thereby conferred greatness on her family.

One[1] of the occurrences was an instance of great liberality on the part of the Court. Owing to the goodness of the administration, grain became very cheap in the provinces of Allahabad, Oudh and Delhi, and it was difficult for the cultivators to pay the revenue (lit. the cost, "*pā ranj*," of protection). The just sovereign remitted one-sixth. In the Khāliṣa lands this amounted to four crors, five lakhs, sixty thousand and five hundred and ninety-six (45,60,596) *dāms*. From this, some estimate may be made of the reduction to the *jagīrdārs*. A multitude of men obtained relief, and formed assemblies for thanksgivings and rejoicings.

Verse.

How good is the nature of the sovereign,
He strews pearls in lieu of flowers and grass.
Both wide plains and narrow defiles
Glory in the presence of their king.

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[1] Cf. p. 463, where a similar remission in the previous year is described. The Iqbālnāma also refers to the subject, and says the price of grain became so low that the ryots were unable to pay their rent. An order was therefore issued to remit one-sixth on the khaliṣa lands, which caused a loss of 4 krors, 5 lakhs, 60,000 dāms = 10 lakhs, 14,000 rupīs. The fief-holders were also enjoined to make a similar reduction on their estates. Both A. F. and the author of the Iqbālnāma say that from the figures for the khāliṣa lands, the amount of remission on the fiefs may in some measure be estimated. In the Ā'yīn the khāliṣa and the fief revenues for each Sarkār are given, but if we total the revenue for the three provinces of Allahabad, Oudh and Delhi, and then deduct one-sixth, the amount of the remission comes to many more than four krors. Probably no remission was made where the revenue was payable in kind.

One of the occurrences was the failure of the tricks of Muẓaffar Gujarātī. When that slumbrous-witted one had no power left to make war, he had recourse to stratagems. He secretly sent to Aḥmadābād a person to whom had been given the title of Hāmān (the name of Pharaoh's vizier and of Abraham's brother), and he wrote several letters to the imperial officers. His notion was that if these reached the officers of the province, they would become sus-
495 pected, and that the dust of double-facedness might be raised in some of them, and that some might come over to his side. By good fortune, the bearer of the letters, and also the letters, were seized, and his vain contrivance was discovered. That wicked man was capitally punished. Muẓaffar had also retained mercenary persons to take the lives of the officers. Accordingly he corrupted an Afghān named Shahbāz K. who was with Mukammal Beg. That traitor killed Mukammal, but he too was caught and suffered the punishment of his disloyalty. Alertness was the order of the day, and the schemes of that vain contriver were destroyed.

Also, at this time the condition of the Yūsufza'ī tribe became difficult. Assuredly, whoever withdraws his head from subjection to the world's lord falls into various miseries. While the officers were exerting themselves in attacking and plundering, in killing and in binding, the heavens were also taking vengeance on the Yūsufza'ī. Food became dear and the air grew unwholesome. Serious diseases broke out, and strength and cunning failed. Sulṭān Quraish, Būstān Kālū, Sulṭān Bāyazīd and other chiefs appeared before Isma'īl Qulī, and behaved with humility. It was agreed that when they came out of the hill-country with their families[1] they would beg for forgiveness from the Court.

One of the occurrences was Ṣādiq K.'s attack on Sahwān. He came from the court to Multān, and took an army to that quarter. Mīrzā Jānī Beg, the ruler of that place, sent Bartaq and Kochak Arghūn, Mīrzā Beg and Rustam Tarkhān with many troops to fight,

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1 Aghrūq, perhaps, tents, etc. The Iqbālnāma refers to the distress of the Yūsufza'ī, and says their leaders appeared before Ismā'īl with shrouds round their necks. The Khulāṣatut-Tawārīkh says the same thing and adds that it is well known that the Yūsufza'ī sold their women for food.

and there was a great battle. Kochak and Mīrzā Beg were killed, and Rustam was made prisoner. Becoming bolder on account of this success, Ṣādiq went on without taking into consideration the number of the soldiers of that country and invested the fort of Sahwān. Some of the wall was thrown down by mining, but as the earthen parapet was very high they were not able to enter. There was such delay that the garrison was able to make another wall. As the work was difficult, they withdrew from it and went to Naṣīrpūr, and collected spoil. The ruler of that country came forth with a large equipment to fight, but before he arrived, Ṣādiq K. perceived that the proper thing to do was to retire.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

The sending of Qāsim K. to conquer Kashmīr.

496 As the Kashmīrīāns in their folly did not adhere to the treaty, and as Ya'qūb the evildoer thought that he was safe behind the barrier of difficult mountains, and was proceeding rapidly in an evil course, H.M. addressed himself anew to the conquest of the country. A discussion took place about sending troops there. Many leaders thought the enterprise difficult and were not inclined for it. Though the writer of the noble volume frequently pointed out excellent methods for the conquest, there was no good result. By the orders of H.M., a meeting of astrologers was held, and a close investigation of the horoscope of the year, and of the state of the constellations, was made. The diagrams (*namūdar*) showed that if some energy were exerted the conquest would be quickly made. When this was brought to the knowledge of H.M., his royal idea took form. At this time Ḥaidar Cak and Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī represented, "The grandees of that country will not swerve from our views, and if a few of the landholders be sent with the Panjāb troops, it is probable that the country will come into H.M.'s hands without a contest." Accordingly, Mubārak K. and Jalāl K. Gakhars[1] and other Zamīndārs were sent off. The two Kashmīrīs waited near Bhimbhar in expectation of assistance. In the meantime it flashed upon H.M.'s mind that the suggestion that landholders should be taken, indicated that there was some evil design. Accordingly he assigned this service to Qāsim K., who was among the singular of the age for ability and courage. On 18 Tīr, 28th June 1586, Fatḥ K.[2], Masnad 'Ālī, Gujar K., M. 'Alī Akbarshāhī, S. Daulat Khanjarī,[3] S. Sikandar Rafīq, Shāh Muḥammad, Mīr 'Abdur Razzāq Mamūrī, Yādgār Ḥusain, Lāl

[1] They were both Gakhars, Mubārak being Sulṭān Sārang's grandson and Jalāl Sulṭān Adam's grandson. B. 486.

[2] He had charge of the leopards.

[3] The Iqbālnāma has "and Hijre (or Khanjarī)."

Deo, Sonar[1] Chand, Khwāja Ẓahīr, Pādshāh Qulī Shafaqat, Walī Beg, Hazārī Beg and many manṣabdārs and aḥadīs and officers' servants were sent off under his command. Every one of them was furnished with counsels suitable to his capacity. They were to practise enlightenment, justice, the non-sufferance of wickedness, the accepting of apologies, and the chastisement of the evil. Sharīf[2] Sarmadī was appointed Bakhshī, and an order was given that the men who had been previously sent should not deviate from the orders of the General.

One of the occurrences was the sending back of the Tūrān ambassador. Though by the return of the royal standards from the banks of the Indus, the ruler of that country had recovered from his alarm, yet when it was represented to H.M. that he was anxious on account of the long detention of his ambassador, H.M. showed him special favours, and gave him leave on 12 Shahrīyūr (23 August), and also set apart various rarities. He despatched Ḥakīm Hamām, who was able and loyal, with a message in order that he might convey the letter and impress on 'Abdullā K. the choice qualities of the Shāhinshāh. He was also to study the minds of high and 497
low and to report thereon. Mīr Ṣadr Jahān Muftī was also sent to express condolences for the death of Sikandar[3] K. He had died three years before, but as at that time there was an idea of conquering the country, condolences had not been sent. Now that 'Abdullā K. had recourse to amicable expressions, and had adopted the rules of concord, the Mīr was sent upon this mission.

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1 The Iqbālnāma and I.O. MS. 236 have Sanesār.

2 He was a poet. B. 516.

3 'Abdullā's father. He died in 991 or 1583. The letter which follows, refers to his death.

CHAPTER XC.

Draft[1] (Sawād) of the Shāhinshāh's letter.

The odours of the workshop of the springtime of singleheartedness, and the vision of the masterpiece of the pinacothek of far-seeing wisdom which the garland-twiners of friendship's garden had decked, and the written characters of the artists of the delightsome picture-gallery of the high-born one, who is the glory of throne and diadem, unveiler of the countenance of wisdom and knowledge, distinguished legislator[2] of the philosophic world (?), great lord of the universe of justice, enkindler of the lamp of the Khāns, uplifter of the royal[3] umbrella, at that most excellent of seasons, when the drums of the New Year were beating with a world-cherishing sound under the blue dome, and the great Luminary, the Universe's Donor, to wit, the world-warming sun, the enthroned Sulṭān of Day, Dictator of the seven climes of the elements, and the bodies, had cast his glorious shadow over the heads of one and all, and when the gales of spring were breathing the vegetative souls into the frames of the newcomers to the realms of earth and water, and the March-winds[4] had washed the dust-worn squadrons of the army

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[1] Does the use of word *sawād* mean that this was a rough draft, and that afterwards another exordium was prepared, viz. that which appears in letter 2 of the Inshā? The exordium of this *sawād* is that of the 3rd letter of Inshā, but the body of it agrees with the 2nd letter of the Inshā.

[2] It is نواین in the text, but perhaps نوین, *nuvīn*, prince, is the true reading.

[3] کیانی Kayānī. Here used to mean any great king, for 'Abdullā had no connection with the Kayānīān dynasty of Persia. The point of the whole of the exordium seems to be that it was a marvellous coincidence that the ambassador and the letter arrived about the time of the New Year.

[4] Text Abr-i-Āzarī, but it is not the Persian month Azar, which corresponds to November, that is meant, but the Syrian month Āzār that is meant. Apparently then we should read Āzārī. See D'Herbelot s. v. Azār who warns his readers against

of spring. The foundations of friendship rose up anew, and the laws of singlemindedness received fresh honour. The cordial words of love, kinship, unity and well-wishing which had imbibed a fragrance from the perfumed pen, and had flowed from the jewelled reed have been received and have been much appreciated. They have greatly rejoiced us.

It will not be hidden from your wise heart and your heaven-reaching perception, which is a treasury of Divine mysteries, and a mirror of the face of understanding, that this suppliant at the gate of the unconditioned (*beniyāz*) One hath during the thirty years which by Heaven's aid he hath spent on the throne of prosperity, ever kept before his eyes the truth that all this autocracy and world-rule, all this sword-bearing and clime-conquering, are for the purpose of shepherding. and for doing the work of watch and ward; not for the amassing of treasures of gold and silver, or for decorating the throne and diadem, or for letting one's feet halt in the mud of transitory pleasures, or for sinking the head into the collar of unstable desires. Hence, there has ever been nought but goodness and good-will towards friend and foe, kinsman and stranger. **498** There hath been a constant stirring towards the soothment of mortals, whether high or low, and for graciousness to men of the age, whether anear or afar. God knows that the cleansing of the four[1] *dāngs* of India, and the sweeping away of the weeds and

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the confounding of the two months. The Syrian month corresponds to March.

[1] The phrase means $\frac{2}{3}$ of the seven climes. There is a saying that India is 4 *dāngs* and Persia 2 *dāngs*. See Gulbadan's Mem. 170. See also Akbar's letter to Shah 'Abbās in first part of A. F.'s letters where the expression "four *dāngs* of the 7 climes is used." The expression "*four dāngs*" occurs in the Persian epitaph to William Hamilton, Surgeon, St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta. See Wilson's Inscriptions on Tombs in Bengal, p. 16, where the phrase is wrongly translated by the words "the four quarters."

James Fraser in his history of Nādir Shāh, p. 16 of 2nd ed., states that he has copies of the letters which 'Abdullā K. wrote to Akbar and in which he calls him to a severe account for being so fond of the Brahmin or Indian priests, and so indifferent to the Muhammadan religion. It would be interesting to have these letters. They do not appear to be included in the list of MSS. at the end of Fraser's volume. (Are they in the Bodleian?).

rubbish from this garden, which is bounded on three sides by the ocean, did not proceed from self-will and self-indulgence, and that we had no object except to be kind to mortals, and to obliterate the oppressors. Hence it is that wherever I turned myself, difficult things were easily accomplished, and that the face of satisfaction emerged beauteously from the veil of hope. When our amiability was such to the others of God's servants (i.e. mankind), what could it be to that highborn patrician who belongs to the noble and befriended ones of the palace of sovereignty, and with whom we were linked by the bonds of ancient affection and near relationship. To the eyes of the acute and prudent it is evident that any one of these ties is sufficient. And when all of them are together, it is evident that there can be nought but unison. This singlemindedness is the material of the civilization of the world, and the bond of mankind.

With regard to the intimations [1] about stopping letters and intercourse, though in the eye of reason, silence is better than speech in such matters, yet we shall overlook this. We consider, however, that lengthy discourse about these things is unfitting, and so content ourselves with this verse which has been written concerning glorious ones of the Faith.

Verse.

Of God, people have said that He had a son; of the Prophet they have said that he was a sorcerer.
Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men.
Much less I!

God be praised! From the beginning of our existence and from the emergence of the rays of the light of the Sulṭanat which is yoked with auspiciousness, the straight path of religion and faith, and the right road of truth and certainty have been the desire of our eyes. Assuredly, in accordance with the saying that rule and faith are twins, the elevation of the degrees of august sovereignty, and the uprearing of the standards of daily-increasing fortune are

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1 This probably refers to some remark of 'Abdullā's about breaking off communications with Akbar on account of his having ceased to be a Musalmān.

a full and satisfactory proof of our observance of the Faith. May Almighty God keep all fixed and stable in doing His good pleasure! And as the sum total of the desires of just princes, who sit on the thrones of greatness, is that all mankind and every creature, who are the wondrous deposits of the Almighty, should abide in peace and tranquillity, and should strive strenuously in obeying God, and in the ways of a well-intentioned life, we have during this time striven for the arrangement and ordering of these extensive dominions, which were the seats of so many great sovereigns and rulers, and have by God's favour, which attends this suppliant at the Divine gate, obtained full repose by the management of these countries. Places which from the time of rise of the sun of Islām till the present day had not been trod by the horse-hoofs of world-conquering princes and where their swords had never flashed, have become the dwelling-places and the homes of the 499
faithful. The churches and temples of the infidels and heretics[1] have become mosques and holy shrines for the masters of orthodoxy. God be praised! What we wished for has been accomplished, and arrangements have been made in accordance with our desires. All the leaders and stiff-necked ones of the hosts of Hindus and others, have placed the rings of obedience in their ears and been enrolled among the victorious armies. All classes of mankind have attained joy. We too in accordance with the principle "Do[2] good as God doth good to thee" devote our energies towards promulgating the laws of kindness, the laying the foundations of justice, the spreading of the lights of benevolence, and the irrigating of the gardens of men's hopes and peace, with oozings from the clouds of graciousness, and beneficence, so that they may be kept fresh and verdant.

I have kept before my mind the idea that when I should be entirely at liberty from these tasks, I should, under the guidance of God's favour, undertake the destruction of the Feringhi infidels who have come to the islands (jazā'ir-i-daryā-i-, query, peninsulas ?)

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[1] *Khazlān*, lit. deserters or wanderers, but here I presume meaning wanderers from the faith.

[2] As pointed out by the Lucknow edition, this is from the Qorān, the 28th Surā. Sale translates, "But be thou bounteous *to others*, as God hath been bounteous unto thee."

of the ocean, and have lifted up the head of turbulence, and stretched out the hand of oppression upon the pilgrims to the holy places. May God increase their glory! They (the Franks) have become a great number and are stumbling-blocks to the pilgrims and traders. We thought of going in person and cleansing that road from thorns and weeds. But as we heard that some of the officers of Persia had proved disloyal to their sovereign, and had cast away the firm handle of fidelity—which had been the means of their exaltation—and had committed various improprieties, it passed into our mind that we should appoint to that region one of our sons—from whose forehead there streamed the rays of auspicious-ness, and in whose horoscope were the lights of justice—and not undertake any other work until that was disposed of. At present when the Sulṭān of Turkey, regarding the treaties and agreements made by his father and grandfather as non-existent, has looked to the ostensibly feeble condition of Persia, and has, several times, sent his troops there, we shall, passing over the circumstance of the deviation from the highway of Sunnism (*sunnut-u-jamā'at*) and looking only to the relationship (of that dynasty) with the family of the Prophet, proceed thither and help them. Assuredly, ancient things should be borne in mind, especially at this time when, as we hear, the ruler of Persia has dispatched able men of that country (to us) with presents, and with a prayer for help. It befits our sublime spirit that we should fling out the reins of interest towards 'Irāq and Khurāsān. It also appears to us that as the ties of friendship and relationship with that workshop of sovereignty ('Abdullā) have existed from old times, and have been revived by the sending of a loving letter, in company with that asylum of Saiyidship and magistracy, Mīr Quraish, and when the bonds of affection have been thereby strengthened, you also should proceed from your dominions towards that country so that it may become a meeting of the two seas of glory, and superiority and the rising of the two auspicious planets of splendour and beauty. By oral communications, without the intervention of couriers and messages, the foundations of love and unity may be made stronger, and various heartfelt words, and secrets allied to truths, which are concealed in our hearts, and also matters of theology and observance of the truth may be mentioned in the friendly

meeting, and we may also hear the refined subleties in the matters of Divine knowledge which have cast their rays on the soul of that workshop of magnificence ('Abdullāh). The cream of life and the excellence of prosperity consist in sociability and spiritual intercourse, especially when between two chosen ones of God who have been glanced upon by the court of sublimity. Assuredly, this proceeding would be the cause of general excellence at that time when by God's help this wish shall be realised—inasmuch as the ambition of those who are approved by God and have been exalted by him is to do what is well-pleasing to him, and not to acquire name and sway among men. Accordingly it is our heart's desire—and we hope that it is also yours—that we may have intercourse with one who is eminent for his knowledge and following of the truth, and that we may be in union with him and not depart from his counsel. Now that the association of concord and agreement is patent to all, what is proper in the matter of assisting the rule of 'Irāq and Khurāsān will come forth from its inner ambush to the world of manifestation.

The apologies[1] which you have made with a loving pen with regard to the catastrophe of our honoured protegé (*farzand*, lit. child) Shāhrukh Mīrzā have delighted our justice-loving heart. True it is, he, on account of youth, self-conceit, and bad companionship, has exhibited so many improper actions. Each one of these causes has contributed to his affairs coming to such a pass. In the first place, on account of the promptings of some short-sighted persons, he has many times failed on obedience to ourselves. Secondly, he has not behaved to your noble self in a becoming manner. Thirdly, he has behaved in such an improper manner to his venerable grandfather, who had so many spiritual and mate-

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[1] معذرت *m'azirate*. The use of this word is explained by a passage in the Rauẓāt-uṭ-Ṭāhirīn at the beginning of the account of the year 994. It is there stated that 'Abdullah K. wrote to Akbar that Mīrzā Shāhrukh had very improperly attacked and plundered some of his villages, and that in consequence he ('Abdullah) had sent troops to restrain the Mīrzā, and that thereupon the Mīrzā, acting merely upon suspicion, had abandoned the country and proceeded towards Akbar. The fault then was not "this faqīr's, *i.e.* 'Abdullāh's, as he had acted out of friendship."

rial claims upon him. Every chastisement that has come upon him has been of the nature of a Divine monition and inspiration. Now that he has awakened from the sleep of negligence, and has turned towards the strong handle of our graciousness, we cannot be otherwise than kind and forgiving to him. We hope that, in accordance with your noble nature, you will overlook his transgressions.

In order to strengthen the foundations of affection, we are sending the wise and loyal Ḥakīm Hamām, who is a sincere speaker of truth and a rightly-acting disciple. From the beginning of his service he has been in close attendance on us, and we never had the thought of sending him away. When such has been his relationship to us that he has made suggestions to us without the intervention of any one else, if similar treatment be accorded to him in your noble audiences, it will be as if we and you were con-

501 versing directly with one another.

In order to convey our condolences for the death of the pardoned and blessed Sikandar K. we had appointed that reservoir of Saiyidship and high magistrate Ṣadr Jahān, who is one of the great and holy ones of this country. From various causes there has been delay in tendering these. We now are enabled through his kindness to send him.

We are sending some specimens of presents under the charge of the excellent Muḥammad[1] 'Ali along with a separate list. May we always continue to interchange letters and presents! We have been delighted by your procuring and sending fairy-flying pigeons from Farghāna, and the able pigeon fancier, Ḥabīb. We have felt the fragrance of your love and concord in this. Though at first sight the regard for a handful of feathers seems but sportiveness, yet, on further consideration it will appear that the evolutions (*charkh u bāzī*) and play of those birds remind us of the ecstacies of the lords of enthusiasm, and lead to a contemplation of the Deity. God who knows the secrets of the hearts, knows that our apparent and casual occupation with such things is but a veil over the beauty of devotion to the First Cause, and that our soul is not satisfied with the simplicity (mujarrad) of outward wings and feathers.

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[1] This was Muḥammad 'Alī Khazāncī.

Verse.

A letter[1] with very special words
Has been composed; and now, compliments and blessings.

One of the occurrences was a great flood at Sirhind. The rain began on the 28th (Shahrīyūr) (8 September 1586), and continued for three[2] days and nights. A violent flood came from the northern[3] hills, and in the city the water rose to three yards (*gaz*). Outside it was five yards. Nearly 2000 houses were destroyed, and the fort-wall was thrown down for 150 yards. 500 yards of the old garden were destroyed, and 100 of the new one, and much property was carried away by the water. One hundred persons were drowned and 2000 animals. The high road to the capital was closed for a time. The Superintendents of Fate showed this spectacle, and thereby gave warning to those who were sunk in carelessness, and awoke the slumbering. Apparently, H.M.'s fortune was illustrated by such things. If retribution were made for wicked actions, assuredly a typhoon of fire and water would have been necessary. But the right-thinking and truth-seeking of the Ruler saved humanity and so it was not overwhelmed by a day of retribution!

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[1] There are three letters to 'Abdullah in the first book of Abul Faẓl's letters. They are not chronologically arranged, for the first one was written ten years after the second and third. Accordingly, it appears in the Akbarnāma III. 704 among the transactions of the 41st year. The second and third letters in the book of letters are nearly identical, and seem to be drafts of one and the same original. The beginning of the letter, which has just been translated, corresponds to the beginning of letter No. 3 of the Maktūbāt, but the rest of it agrees with the second letter. The third is probably a rejected draft, for it does not appear in the Akbarnāma except as to the beginning, and it contains a still more laboured defence against the charge of impiety.

[2] I.O. MS. has *se*, thirty instead of *seh*, three, and this seems more likely.

[3] The Lucknow edition has *shālī* instead of *shimālī* and speaks, in note 7, of Shālī as a well-known mountain. There is such a mountain in the Simla district, north of Sirhind. See I.G. XII. 374, old edition. Sirhind was famous for its gardens.

CHAPTER XCI.

The conquest of the flourishing country of Kashmīr through the fortune of the Shāhinshāh.

It is an old rule that when good intention and choice action meet together in a seeker after fortune, Almighty God grants him the easy realisation of every wish that he may entertain, and even spiritual and physical successes for which he has as yet framed no wish rise up and serve those favourites of fortune who possess those
502 two attributes (good intention and choice action). Accordingly the circumstances of the world's lord tell of this, and this book in some measure recites the fact. The conquest of this country was a new instance. Whoever knows a little about the ravines of the road to it will understand that no thought of strange conquest troubled the minds (of the inhabitants). On all four sides, mountains which raise their heads to heaven act as sentinels. Though there are six or seven roads, yet a large army cannot march rapidly by them, and in every one of them there are places where if some old men rolled down stones, the bravest of men (lit. men of men) could not pass. On this account, former princes did not think of conquering it and prudence turned them away from such a wish. For a long time H.M. had cherished the thought of conquering it, but the fluent talkers of the court, who could not advance a step beyond superficiality, could not conceive such an idea. When the standards of justice cast their shadow over the Punjab, the thought became keener, and though the leading officers of the court sent out armies badly equipped, the stewards of fate stood firm and worked wonders. In the first place, the wicked Y'aqūb increased in presumption and became refractory. He heard of the confused condition of the victorious army, and abolished the treaty. Panegyrists and flatterers induced him to take the title of Shāh Ismā'īl. He took evil ways to be virtues and voluntarily trod the desert of failure. He fell into improper desires, and by his tyrannical exertions stirred up the hearts of the people against himself. He did not do

the work of the world and took part in religious disputes. He was passionate and a molester of mankind. Though in that country the laws of Brahmanism (Hinduism) and of Sākyamūnī [1] used to prevail, yet for a long time there had been a predominance of the Sunnīs and Shī'as. By Time's jugglery each prevailed over the other for a season, and the booths of self-auctioning were tricked out. By the dexterity of practical men, the screen of moderation had been hung, and the dust of dissension not allowed to rise. But now he (Ya'qūb) drew back the veil of respect and set himself to vex the Sunnīs. He put to death the aged Qāẓī [2] Mūsā, and had his house and home plundered. The dormant turbulence awoke, and Shams Chak came forward to contend for the supremacy and to take vengeance. Muḥammad Bhat—who was the wily Dimna [3] of the country—got his opportunity and widened out the arena of evil thoughts. He urged the muddle-headed youth secretly to get rid of Shams [4] Chak, 'Ali Sher Mākrī, Saiyid Ḥusain and the other leaders of that sect (the Sunnīs). They got news of this, and proceeded along the same road that he had intended to pursue (meaning, apparently, that they too meditated assassination). Muḥammad withdrew himself, but was caught after a little search, and when he was put into prison, Shams Chak determined on having the mastery, and became prominent. Ya'qūb also took up arms. Suddenly, the sound of the victorious army robbed high and low of endurance, and by the eloquence of men of the world a peace was brought about. The district of Kāmrāj [5] was surrendered to Shams Chak, but in a short time

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[1] Text Shākmūnī.

[2] Badāyūnī, Lowe 365, says that Y'aqūb killed the Qāẓī with his own hand, but this does not appear to be correct. The historians of Kashmīr give some particulars. Ya'qūb, it seems, wanted the Qāẓī to enter the name of 'Alī into the public prayers and the Qāẓī objected, and said that temporal rulers had nothing to do with spiritual matters. Ya'qūb was offended and sent for the executioneer and put him to death. The fullest account is to be found in B.M. MS. Add. 24,029.

[3] One of the two jackals of the Anwārī Suhailī.

[4] Lawrence, 193, says the Caks were Shīās, and indeed Y'aqūb was himself a Cak. Either Shams Cak was an exception to the rest of his clan, or he was actuated by ambition and not by religious feeling.

[5] Kāmrāj and Marāj were two districts into which Kashmīr was divided, the former being the northern

503 the unfortunate Ya'qūb forgot the agreement and led an army against him, and by alertness got the enemy into his clutches.

When the victorious army marched from Court, there was a daily market of foolish talkers, until it came to the Cīnāb. They imagined that the completion of the work would be very difficult. When they had crossed the river, the news of the bad behaviour of Ya'qūb, the mutual disputes, and the imploring letters of the chief men of the country, and, in particular, of 'Alī Sher Mākrī, arrived, one after the other. The skilful who could read the future from the appearance of the present, and recognise the conclusion from the beginning, recited the tale of victory, and prepared[1] for battle. Every one recognised his place. The centre was adorned by the presence of the General. In the right wing were Masnad 'Ālī, Fatḥ K., Mubārak K., and others. In the left wing were Jalāl K., and other battle-seeking heroes. In the vanguard were Mīrzā 'Ālī Akbarshāhī, Gūjar K., Shaikh Daulat, Sharīf Sarmadī and a number of Aḥadīs and other gallant men. On 21 Shahriyūr (1 September, 1586) they passed through the defile of Bhimbhar. Selīm *Zamīndār* disappeared (lit. went aside). Qāsim K. wisely made Bahlol his brother's son the chief, and preserved tranquillity. In a short time the devious one (Selīm) also joined the army. In Rajaurī, Bahrām Nā'yīk,[2] Isma'īl Nāyīk, and Shankī Charwar, who were the chief conductors of the Passes, came and paid their respects. They offered up good wishes for the conquest of the country. They represented that the ungrateful Ya'qūb had fled to the corner of contempt, and that the heads of the country were looking forward to the arrival of the army. They said there were two roads from that place (Rajaurī). One was the Kapartal,[3] and this was the most open of

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half of the valley. J. II. 365 *n.* 1. It contained the residence of the Caks (at Tārāgāon). See also Stein, Rājataranginī, Book II, verse 15, note.

[1] Text بردہ آرای *barda ārāī* which does not seem intelligible. I adopt the reading of I.O. MS. 235, *nabard ārāī*.

[2] The passes were in charge of officers called Nāyīks, i.e. leaders. See Stein's Rājataranginī II. 391.

[3] کپرتل. I have not found this place on the maps or in Stein's 'Rājataranginī' or in the Gazetteer. There are several variants as has been pointed out in the note to Elliot V. 464. In I.O. MS. 236, it is Katanbab. B. 380, *n.* 2, gives the variant کنمریل Kanmarīl. The word

the routes. The other was the Pīr Panjāl. They were the warders of both. If they marched quickly, the oppressed would obtain

occurs twice in Niẓāmud-dīn, and also again in the A.N., in the account of Akbar's second visit to Kashmir in the 37th year. See p. 622. Evidently, it was the pass to the Hastī Watar and Hīrapūr route, and I incline to think that it must be the same as the Darhāl Valley. Darhāl is about 12 m. N.-E. Rajaurī and on the old Pathan road to the Aliābād Serai (Bates). See also Stein II. 393, who says that the Darhāl and Ruprī Passes are not named in the Chronicles, but as they are the most direct route to (or from) Rajaurī and are crossed without much trouble in the summer months, they are likely to have been used from an early time. It will be remembered that Qāsim entered the passes in the autumn. Near the Darhāl Pass is the Nandan Sar lake. The first syllable of Darhāl probably means gate, and there may have been another and more distinctive name for the pass. There is a place Katarmal marked on Stein's map. This resembles the word Kapartal, but it is in the wrong direction, being about 4 m. N.-W. Rajaurī. The two places Kandal marked on the maps, and lying about 9 m. E. Rajaurī are more in the right direction, and as Karanbal is one of the many variants of Kapartal, it is possible that Kandal represents the place meant by A. F.

The Akrambāl, اکرمبال, Pass mentioned on pp. 504-05 must, I think, be the Kramavarta of Stein. See his note D, II. 291. Kramavarta was anciently called Kāmbava, *id.* Book III, verse 227; and a place near it, if not the same place, was called Kāmelankotta. Only if this is so, it would seem that the Hastī Watar of A. F. is not the Hastivanj of Stein, for the latter place is west of Kramavarta, whereas Hastī Watar was east of Akrambāl or Kramavarta and nearer to Kashmīr. This too is in accordance with the description at p. 504, l. 7, of the A. N., where we are told that Hastī Watar is the first pass for one coming from Kashmir and the third for the traveller from India. The three passes here referred to must be the three great passes referred to at p. 504, line 6, which no doubt are the Kapartal, Akrambāl, and Hastī Watar Passes. It cannot be said of Dr. Stein's Hastivanj that it is the first pass from Kashmīr. From A. N. III. 622 it would appear that Hastī Watar was some ten miles beyond Akrambāl, and apparently it was close to Hīrapūr (Surapura). It must have been near the place marked Dranga in Stein's map. It will be noticed that the Ruprī route seems to join the Pīr Pantsāl route a little to the east of 'Alīābād Serai. See also Stein, Book I, V. 305, note, where it is stated that at Aliābād Serai the ordinary, or Imperial route is joined from the south by a route which leads past the Nandan Sar lake over the Darhāl Pass to Rajaurī. If Qāsim K. came by the Ruprī Valley

justice and repose. This news was received with delight, and there were feastings. In accordance with the opinions of the skilful and well-intentioned, the Kapartal route was chosen. The new-comers represented that owing to the difficulty of traversing the passes, and the largeness of the army, there would be delay in arriving, and that the Kashmīrī chiefs were waiting [1] on the hill in expectation of the arrival of the army. It would be advisable to send some capable men on in front. The first thing to do was to raise their (the Kashmīrī chiefs') hopes by princely favours, and then to march rapidly into the city, and beat high the drum of victory. These statements were weighed and considered, and Ya'qūb and Jai Tawāchībāshī, and Sher and Selīm were sent forward with some musketeers. Shankī Chārwar accompanied them, and the main body of the army followed afterwards. When [2] they got to the top of the Kapartal Kotal a different state of things appeared. At
504 the top of this pass three walls with a thickness of four yards and a height of ten yards had been erected. Also beams thirty yards long had been intertwined. The ancients too had cast a spell on the place, so that when a foreign army passed, there were snow and ice and hail. Accordingly a wonderful commotion arose. In such a tempest they traversed hills and declivities and arrived near the pass of Akrambāl (?). There the snow increased, and many animals died of the excessive cold. At this time some musketeers who had gone forward with Jai, arrived at the camp in a wounded condition, and reported the treachery of the Kashmīrīs. There were three great passes (*garīwa*) on the route, and all the world was eloquent about the difficulty of them. It had been represented that the Kashmīrīs were waiting at Hastī Watar [3] which is the third

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he would apparently strike the Pir Pantsāl route east of Alīābād and possibly also of Hastiavanj which is half a mile lower down the river, i.e. more to the eastward. But if he came by the Ladak Valley he would strike the road at or to the west of Hastīvanj.

1 That is, waiting to desert Y'aqub and to join Qāsim K.

2 See Chalmers' translation of this passage in Noer's Akbar, translation II. 201.

3 Colonel Jarrett and the Governor of Jammū, J. II. 347, n. 3, and 383, n. 1, thought that Hastī Watar was a mistake for Hastī Bhanj (the Hastīvanj of Stein's map), but if so, the mistake seems to have been Abul Faẓl's and not his copyist's, for all

range (*garīwa*) from India, and the first from Kashmīr. The advance party did not find them there though it appeared[1] that a body of men had come and then gone back. They asked Shankī Chārwar[2] "Why did they come and why did they go away?" He replied, "Apparently they went back through fear that Ya'qūb would seize the top of the hill." Meanwhile Muḥammad Land, Dilāwar K., Bahādur K. and a number of the Kashmīrī leaders arrived and proceeded to give battle.[3] Shaikh Ya'qūb had two wounds and fell, and nearly died. His friends saved him. Jai fell on the ground with twelve wounds. Some fought bravely, and slept the last sleep. All at once there was a storm of rain and snow, and the men were discomposed. Jai has been heard to say that he lost his senses in that snowstorm, and that while he was insensible H.M. appeared to him, and bade him take courage. At that moment his senses returned to him, and he acquired strength. But the many wounds, the heavy snow, the loneliness, and the pangs of hunger bewildered him. Suddenly some men appeared and he was taken up and carried to Shams Cak who treated him kindly and sent him to the city.

The wonderful[4] workings of fate were such that when Ya'qūb fell into the slumber of presumption on account of his having seized Shams Chak, he dropped the thread of wisdom from his hands, and became more keen in doing evil. He endeavoured to close the roads.

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the MSS. appear to have Watar, وتر, and it is not easy to see how Bhanj could in copying have been changed into Watar. The mistake is more likely if the original word was *vanj* وںج, but even then it is not probable. The text has Satī Watar, the H. of Hastī having been read as the preposition *ba*, but the I.O. MSS. have Hastī Watar. Dr. Stein's valuable paper on the Topography of the Pīr Pantsāl route, J.A.S.B. for 1895, 376, should be consulted. The place Hastīvanj was visited and identified by Dr. Stein and is marked on his map: it is about half a mile below the station of 'Alīābad Serai. It was here according to tradition that Mīhrakūla had 100 elephants thrown down. I have also contributed a paper on Hastīvanj to the R.A.S.J. for 1904, p. 269.

[1] That is, the scouts saw the marks of a large encampment.

[2] Cārwarah is a village near Srīnagar (Stein).

[3] This account is what the advance party gave. The fight was with them and not with the main army.

[4] See abridged translation of this passage by Chalmers in Noer's Akbar, translation, 202 *et seq*.

He sent forward Abiyā his brother, Abiyā the son of Abdāl Chak, Naurang K., Ẓafar K., Fatḥ K., Ḥusain K., Bahādur K., and Dilāwar K.—low persons to whom he from arrogance had given those honourable appelations—while he himself remained in the city, making preparations. At this time their views took two forms, and their affairs fell into a bad way. Those whom he had sent forward exerted themselves in closing the defiles, but some were averse to this business and did not take part in it. Ḥaidar Chak, who nourished
505 the ambition to govern the country, was[1] with the victorious army. His son Ḥusain heard that he was coming, and was waiting for him at Baraṅgala.[2] Many of the above-mentioned Kashmīrīs had a friendly meeting with Ḥusain, and agreed that if Ḥaidar Chak did not abandon his promises they would join him. He should leave the (imperial) army and come to them, and they would turn back the army by various presents and by cajolery. Kashmīr would get repose. Fatḥ ʻAlī, who presumptuously had the title of Naurang K., did not approve of this plan, so they degraded him. The two Abiyās contrived by pretences to abscond. The Nāyiks, who were the guardians of the passes, were sent (by Ḥusain and his party) to make supplications. The notion was to take some of the imperial servants with them, and to honour the pulpits by announcing there the name of the world's lord, and to turn back the officers by the power of presents.

In brief Yaʻqūb had come to Hīrapūr[3] intending to fight, but became bewildered by finding that the Kashmīrīs were disgusted with him. Ḥusain K., his paternal uncle, also left him and joined those Kashmīrīs. He held a meeting of the instruments of his own ignorance, and sate to consider how matters could be remedied. The resolution come to was that they should release from confinement Shams Chak and Muḥammad Bhat, and that they should conduct affairs according to the counsels of these two men. When he brought out those two strifemongers, they from spite represented that the

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[1] The text has a conjunction before the verb, but this seems superfluous. Perhaps و is a mistake for او he.

[2] Properly Bahramgalla. It is the entrance to Kashmīr, and is 24 miles from Rajaurī. The ascent to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass begins here. It is the Bhairavgala of Śrivara's Chronicle (Stein).

[3] On the Pīr Pantsāl route. Properly Sūrapūra or Hīrapūr.

proper course was that he should for some days live apart from commotion, and should take refuge in Kistwāra.[1] When he had taken some repose and had come to distinguish friend from foe, he should display activity. With a thousand failures he withdrew to that obscure place. On the way those two turbulent men separated themselves and took many with them.

At this time, when the Kashmīrīs were on the hill, looking for the coming of Ḥaidar Chak, they were bewildered by receiving a letter from him. It said that he was guarded, and that it would be very difficult for him to get away, and very difficult to induce the officers to turn back. The Kashmīrīs were disgusted at this (letter) and had a gathering at Hīrapūr. They made Ḥusain Chak their leader, and turned their attention to fighting. Meanwhile Shams Chak arrived, and they set aside the new ruler, and joined him. They sent a force to the Pass with the design of fighting, and it was from it that the injury happened to Shaikh Ya'qūb and Jai.

When the imperial officers came to know, near Akrambāl, the truth about their evil intentions, they imprisoned their[2] visitors, and were more careful in guarding Ḥaidar Chak. They held a council (*jānqī*) and deliberated about crossing the Hastī Watar ridge, and entering into the country (of Kashmīr). Some were distressed by the snow and sleet, and spoke foolishly about turning back, and spoke about tarrying. Qāsim K., and some acute men set about advancing, and the others were compelled to do the same. At this time Shams Chak sent able men and had recourse to cajolery. He began the same story that had been made use of to Mīrzā Shāhrukh. The reply was that this time, humbug would not succeed. The order was that they should purge Kashmīr of presumptuous and turbulent persons. Let every one who was fortunate join the victorious army, and sit under the shade of clemency. They did not accept the words of wisdom and prepared for battle. Qāsim K. proceeded on the 19th Mihr, 10 October 1586, to engage with a high courage. The enemy too drew up their forces. That turbulent fellow (Shams Chak) was

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[1] Text Kathwārā. Ya'qūb's father-in-law lived there. See J. II. 310, and I. G. Kistāwār. The town is on l. bank Chīnāb and used to be capital of a small principality. It is S.-E. Srīnagar, and outside of the valley. A. F. in Ā'īn includes it in the province of Lahore.

[2] That is, the Nayīks who had joined them at Rajaurī.

in the centre, Ẓafar was on the right wing, Shams Dūlī on the left, Ḥusain Chak in the van (*ṭalī'a*) and Muḥ Bhat in the rear. When the imperial advance-guard came to the Pass, muskets were fired and stones thrown from the forts (*sirkobhā*)), and on account of the pressure of the enemy, aud the narrowness of the ground, they were driven back on the left wing. Qāsim was indignant at this repulse, and personally went to the place. He sent forward Sharīf Sarmadī, Mīr 'Abdur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, Jalālud-dīn Mas'ūd, Ḥājī Muḥ. Tarshī-zī and Mīr Shāh Muḥ. He also took as his companion Khanjarī who had turned back from the left wing. Muḥ. Chak,[1] one of the brave men of Kashmir, ran from the right wing. A combatant named Lākha[2] engaged him. They gripped one another, and together rolled down. The spectators were amazed and uttered cries of astonishment. In the heat of the fight Ẓafar[3] was struck by a bullet, and the army at once dispersed. Other troops had not come up when the buffet of God's hand smote the faces of the rebellious, and the great force broke up. The drum of success beat high, and the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh produced another victory. The advance-guard and the left wing pursued, and halted at the bottom of the pass. Qāsim and the others cautiously took post on the top. Yādgār Ḥusain and some other active men were sent on to Srīnagar, the capital. On 24 Mihr (6 October) the pulpits were exalted by the sublime name of the Lord of the Diadem. The ignorant, wild people were pacified by the administration of justice and by increase of love.[4] When the army was encamped four kos from Srīnagar, Ḥaidar Chak went off to the city without leave. Some uneasiness arose in the camp on account of this, but it soon subsided. On the 25th[5] (Mihr ?) Qāsīm entered the delightful resi-

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1 Ḥaidar Malik calls him a son of Shamsi Chak.

2 He was a Rājput.

3 Ḥaidar M. calls him Ẓafar K. Nayīk

4 *Mihr-afzūnī*. Apparently, there is a play on the double meaning of *mihr*, which signifies one of the solar months, and also love.

5 The MSS. make the date 23 Ābān, or nearly a month later than 25 Mihr. But it is very unlikely that Ābān is correct, for Ḥaidar Malik represents the entry of Qāsim as having taken place immediately after the proclamation. The probability then is that the emendation of the editors is right, if it be an emendation, and not what they found in their MSS. It is 23 *Ābān*

dence of Srīnagar, and there were various joys. On that day Ḥaidar Chak joined with a large number of men while the army was still on the march, but Qāsīm prudently prevented him from interfering (*taṣarraf*) and so erased characters of apprehension from men's hearts.

Nine hundred years before this, in the time of Anat Īlā'īl [1] the **507**

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in I.O. MS. 236, in the Cawnpore MS. and in a MS. of my own. I.O. MS. 235 has not the passage; see its 648th page. Ḥaidar Chak says that the army entered the city on the day after the battle, which, apparently, makes it enter on 20 Mihr. He adds that Ḥaidar Cak was in the city for five days, and then was put into confinement.

[1] Text ايلايل انت, but there are several variants. I.O. MS. 236 has apparently "At Palapal," ات پلاپل. I believe that the name is intended to be the same as Utpalāpīṛa, the son of Ajayapīṛa the last king of the fifth (or sixth) dynasty, and who according to some MSS. reigned for two years. See J. II. 375. Gladwin calls this prince Atbalanund, and Tiefenthaler I. 94, Anandbed. Apparently he corresponds to the Lalītāpīḍa of the Rājtaranginī. See Stein's Rajataranginī Book IV. V. 678. Lalītāpīḍa had a son by the daughter of a spirit-distiller, and her brothers afterwards acquired supreme power. Their dynasty lasted from A.D. 813 to 850. Stein, *id.* verse 703. Lalītāpīra's reign then would correspond to about 196 A.H. or A.D. 812 or nearly 800 years before Qāsim K.'s conquest in 1586, which is a sufficiently near approximation to A. F.'s 900 years. In J. II. 376 the dynasty which succeeded Utpalāpīṛa is said to have been Camārs by caste. But in two MSS. which I have consulted there are no dots on the first letter of this word, which is written there ḥamār, حمار. I believe that the word really is خمار or خمّار Khamār or Khammār, wine-sellers, which therefore agrees with the *bāda farosh̲ān* of A. F. and the *kalyapāla* of the Rajtaranginī, *id.* v. 678. According to the Rājtaranginī Lalitāpīḍa was a wicked and dissolute prince. He was succeeded by Saṁgrāmāpiḍa, and he by Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, also called Vrihaspatī, and who was the young son of Lalitāpīda by a spirit-distiller's daughter. It was her brothers who usurped the power. They ruled till A.D. 850, and then there was a contest, and eventually Utpalapīḍa the son of Ajitāpīḍa became king. According to the Rājtaranginī he was a king set up by the spirit-distiller Utpada's son Sukhavarman, and apparently he belonged to that caste, for his grandmother was Jayadevī, though Stein says she is different from the Jayādevī the spirit-distiller's daughter. Utpalāpiḍa was dethroned and succeeded by Avantivarman in A.D. 855-6. According to A. F. and Stein I. 137 there were only 15 princes of the Utpala dynasty, Avantivarman

ruler of Kashmīr, this conquest had been prophesied. Accordingly, ancient records speak of it. By the jugglery of fortune, wine-sellers had obtained the supremacy, and there was a hot season of flagon-draining and of oppression. Shīv [1] Dat, a brahman, lived in Srīnagar in the street of Rathpūr. He was singular for his good qualities and he had a consort who had few peers for beauty and chastity. He was continually distressed by [2] the vogue of the polluted, and was always imploring the Deity for deliverance from that set of tyrants. A knowing and skilful man taught him the science of *baitāl* [3] *sādhana*, for the sages of India regard the *baitāl* as a holy spirit, and *sādhana* means the rules for causing his appearance. Whenever he comes, he tells the truth about every thing. Whoever shall cause his appearance must practise certain rites for several days, and must recite special charms. On the last day he must, on the dark [4] 14th of the moon, and in an appropriate hour, stretch out a human corpse, perfect in its limbs, in a place where bodies are cremated, and which

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being the first. But if we take Lalitāpīḍa as the prince in whose time the ghost-story occurred, we have twenty princes, or exactly the number mentioned in text, and we have a still nearer approximation to the 900 years before 1586 or 994, the five additional princes having reigned over 60 years. The Utpala dynasty was succeeded by Yasāskara deva (the Jasasra of J. II. 376) who apparently was of the Kāyath or Sudra caste. According to A. F., J. II. 378, the Deva (or Kāyath) dynasty lasted till the throne fell to a Muḥammadan (Shamsud-dīn). Ghāzī Cak became king in the middle of the 16th century, and the line of independent kings of Kashmīr ended with Ya'qūb.

[1] The I.O. MS. 236 calls the brahman Sevat سیوت and the text has the variant Sūrat, which is also

that given by Chalmers. As the brahman appears to have recorded the story in Hindī, that is, in Sanskrit verse, he is perhaps the Survata, who was one of Kalhana's predecessors, and who is mentioned in Stein's Introduction, I. 24. Muhammadan rule began in Kashmīr about A.D. 1340. The word which I have translated "street" is *barsan*. I cannot find Rathpūr on Stein's plan of Srīnagar.

[2] Hangāma. The variānt "nigāh hā," glances, is supported by the I.O. MSS.

[3] Both words are spelled in the text. The Betāl, Sanskrit Vetala, is a spirit which inhabits corpses. See the Baitāl Pachaīsī.

[4] i.e. apparently the 29th day of the lunar month. See Jarrett II. 17. The dark fortnight is the 14th day of the Kishnpach or dark fortnight of the moon.

is called a *masān*,[1] and must make it fast[2] on all four sides with iron nails. He must then seat himself on the shoulder of the corpse, and light a lamp in a human skull, the wick being made from a shroud, and the oil from human fat. He must then breathe charms upon human teeth[3] and strew the latter like flowers over the fallen body. By the power of God[4] terrific forms make their appearance, and if the heart of the necromancer does not fail him, the corpse begins to move, and utters awful sounds. Thereafter the spirit assumes a moderate aspect and asks, "Why have you called me, and why is all this pain?" It will then answer the questions put to it, and the inquirer will obtain a remedy in matters that are practicable, and in others he will be taught patience. The oppressed brahman set about collecting the materials, and after much search obtained a body such as was wanted. But some things he had not got, and he was perplexed how to keep what he had got. He could not take the corpse to the city, and he was afraid it would be damaged if kept in the country. He made it up like a bundle (*boqcha*), and deposited it in the house of a tanner of his acquaintance so that in that odoriferous place his secret would not be revealed. He himself went off to complete his arrangements. At midnight, the spirit, who had become apprised of the facts, cried out to the tanner. The latter was somewhat terrified, but the ghost spoke reassuringly to him and said: "A certain brahman is suffering much; tell him the period of the unjust rulers will be a long one. Let him draw his feet inside the robe of patience and refrain from restlessness. Twenty persons of that set will sit, one after the other, on the throne of power. When the time of those oppressors shall have passed away, the government of this country will come to the caste of the Kāyaths, and after that, men of the Muḥammadan faith will bear rule. The appointed time of each dynasty must pass away, and

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[1] Text sasān, but masān in I.O. MSS. It is apparently a corruption of the Sanskrit *shmashān* (Forbes's Dict. meaning a burning place).

[2] I presume that this means pegging down the body at the head, feet and sides.

[3] The MSS. vary; I.O. MS. 236 has dand-ān, meaning, I suppose, the ribs, but apparently, teeth are what is meant. Perhaps there is here a reminiscence of Cadmus.

[4] *nabard*: battle or contest, but the MSS. have Yazdī.

when the turn of the Chaks [1] arrives, several of that family will prevail.
508 Their sway will pass away at the eighth succession, and one of the mighty in spiritual and temporal matters, and whose thoughts, actions, and speech are devoted to the accomplishment of the Divine Will shall sit and deal justly by this country." When the brahman came to the tanner's house, he learned what had happened, and withdrew his hand from his undertaking, and sate down in the corner of obscurity. The incidents were recorded to Hindī verse, and old histories and stone-tablets tell of them. Sulṭān Zainul-'Ābidīn—who is also called Baddū Shāh,[2] and who is world-famous among the rulers of Kashmīr, used continually to say that the government of the country would soon pass to the Chaks, and that afterwards it would be wrested from them.

At the time when there was a loud report in Kashmīr of the coming of M. Shāhrukh and Rāja Bhagwant Dās, Yūsuf the ruler went to Wāḥid [3] Ṣūfī in Panj Brāra, and begged for inspiration. That servant of God, and man of enlightened heart, replied that though this army would turn back in the middle of the road, yet the Incomparable Deity had given the country to the spiritual and secular monarch. His soldiers would soon arrive.

When the news of the conquest reached the sublime Court, there was an increase of thanksgivings to God, and the deserving servants were exalted by various favours. The truth of the statements of the Hindū astrologers was revealed. In the beginning of Ābān the solar weighment took place. It was made against twelve articles. There was a great feast, and the needy had their heart-desires gratified. On this day Rāja Bhagwant Dās performed the prostration. The story of his madness and desire to commit suicide has been described. When he had recovered by the attentions of H.M., he turned his face to the court. On the 4th the quarters of

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[1] The Chaks came from the north, and are supposed to be foreigners.

[2] Zainul-'Ābidīn came to the throne in 1407 and reigned 52 years. A. F. refers to his prophecy in the Ā'in, J. II. 388. His other name is written Badū there. Perhaps it is short for Bādshāh.

[3] Perhaps this is a title, meaning "The Unitarian Ṣūfī." Wāḥīd Ṣūfī is described at p. 549 of A. N., and at 551, a visit paid to him by Akbar is described.

Karam Ullāh Kambū were made glorious by H M.'s advent. Lofty palaces had been erected, and he had long nourished this wish in his heart (that Akbar would visit his house). As the gratification of desires is one of H.M.'s principles, Karam Ullāh's petition was granted, and he obtained an eternal blessing. There was largesse and there were presents, some of which were accepted.

One of the occurrences [1] was that Ya'qūb made a night attack, and retreated after failure. The Kashmīrī scoundrels brought him out of the defiles of Kistwāra, and many gathered round him. He stirred up strife at Chandarkot [2] seven kos from Panj Brāra.[3] Mubārak, Shaikh Daulat and other brave men hastened to the spot. He did not think himself strong enough to fight by day, and so determined on a night attack. He wished to engage with those who had come in advance. Some represented that the general was behaving with some negligence in the city, now that he had sent off the troops. Ya'qūb left some men to oppose them, and went off towards the city. On the 20th he passed Sa'dīwāra,[4] and at midnight entered the city. He found some scouts asleep, and put them to death. Ya'qūb and many scoundrels made a commotion at the principal gate. Qāsim and some gallant men displayed great courage, Sharīf Sarmadī and Hājī 509
Muḥ. of Turshīz (near Nishāpūr) fought bravely. As they were not easy in their minds about the prisoner Ḥaidar Chak, they put him to death. Some Kashmīrīs got into boats and made a tumult at the wicket-gate which opens on that side. Ṭūfān Kabuli, the Qāẓīzāda, and others stood firm. A body of men made a commotion at the gate which leads into the city. Mīr Abdur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī and others maintained their ground. The leader of the band was killed by a bullet. Some made an attack on Mīrzā 'Aḷī Akbarshāhī. Ayyūb

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[1] See Chalmers' translation of this passage in Noer's Akbar, translation II. 204. It appears from Ḥaidar Malik's Chronicle that Bahādur the Rajah of Kishtwāra was Y'aqūb's father-in-law.

[2] I cannot find this place. Perhaps it is on the Candra Bhāga, i.e. the upper course of the Cīnāb. Ḥaidar calls it Candarkot.

[3] Panj, or Pūnch, Brāra is the Bij Bihāra of the maps and of Bates, and is properly Vijayesvara, Stein II. 464, and is situated on both sides of the Jhelaṃ and about 30 m. E.S.E. Srīnagar.

[4] S'aadī Manzil in text but I.O. MS. 236 supports the variant.

Beg, Yār Beg and Mūmin Aḥadīs distinguished themselves. In this engagement Ṣāliḥ Beg was killed. The soldiers prevailed over every [1] house, and in every corner there were hot encounters. After much contest, victory, by the help of God, declared itself. On the other side of the river, Fatḥ K.,[2] on hearing of the news, had sent his son Muḥammad K. with a body of troops. He came on, beating his drums. On the other side, Khanjarī, Shādāb,[3] Askaran aud others beat their drums, and advanced. On hearing the noise of these outside drums, the enemy became demoralised, and by daily-increasing fortune the setting fire to the city by the Kashmīrīs made them still more broken. By the illumination thereof, the skilful marksmen shot down many. At the end of the night the enemy withdrew after a thousand failures, and many lost their lives in the flight. At dawn Mīrzā Ālī Akbarshāhī, Gūjar K., Muh. K. and others followed swiftly in pursuit. Owing to the country's being unknown, the turbulent fellow (Ya'qūb) escaped, and went towards Desū.[4]

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of the ruler of Tatta. Though the titular prince of that country was Mīrzā Pāyinda Muḥammad Arghūn, he was insane and could not govern the country. His son Mīrzā Jānī conducted affairs. On the 28th (Ābān 7 November 1586) Saiyid Jalāl, who was one of the nobles of the country, had the bliss of an audience. He presented petitions and gifts. The former contained the submissions of the nobles, and excuses for the ruler's not coming in person. The Shāhinshāh accepted these and treated the envoy with favour. After satisfying his desires he dismissed him. On 5 Āẕar 16 November Rāja Bāsū [5] did homage with an ashamed face and a repentant heart. He was one of the zamīndārs of the northern hills of the Panjab. He used always to be obedient and behave well. At the time when the august standards cast their shadow over that province, he, from perverse fate, became refractory. Accordingly, Ḥusain Beg, Shaikh 'Umrī,

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[1] *Har khāna*. But the reading is doubtful. Perhaps it is *sir-khāna*, the top of the house, viz. M. 'Alī's. Or Harkhāna may be a place-name.

[2] B. 523.

[3] The variant Sādāt, "the Saiyids," is supported by the I.O. MSS.

[4] Perhaps the Devasarasa of Stein's map, and the Devsar of J. II. 362, 369. But some MSS. seem to have Veso or Weso, and the place may be the Veshau (Wasī) of J. II. 362, and the Kosah Nāg of Vigne.

[5] Of Mau, or Nūrpūr, J. II. 331.

Ḥājī Siyandūk, Qambar Be, Qarā Beg, and Nāẓir Daulat were sent. If he did not listen to counsel, he was to be punished. Rajah Todar Mal wrote a letter to him, and warned him of the danger of disobedience. The troops had arrived at Pathān [1] when the receipt of the Rajah's letter roused him from slumber. He came and paid his respects to the imperial servants, and then accompanied them to Court.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K. Koka to punish the Tārīkīs. Whosoever's star is declining, takes the road of failure of his own accord, and soon receives the retribution of his evil thoughts. Such was the fate of the Mohmand and Ghorī tribes. They had 10,000 households in Peshawar. They were aware that good service was a means of deliverance (and) at this time when they were oppressed they should have petitioned the august court, but from shortsightedness and wickedness they made Jalāla Tārīkī their leader. The life of Saiyid Ḥāmid [2] Bokhārī was lost in battle with them. He was the fief holder of Peshāwar and he had gone there as he had the charge of guarding [3] (the road to) Afghanistan. His soldiers went back to the jāgīr in India, and he was negligently passing his time with a few companions in the fort of Bikrām.[4] He left the work of administration to one who was Mūsā (Moses) in name but not in wisdom. Without having examined into his character he gave into his hands the administration of justice. He did not perceive that in such matters, length of time in service was of no avail. Mūsā from avarice pressed heavily on those tribes, and stretched out his hand against their property and their honour. The latter from want of judgment joined hands with that scoundrel (Jalāla) and made a commotion near Bikrām. On account of the smallness of his force, Saiyid Ḥāmīd was minded to shut himself up in the fort till the arrival of his brethren and of the soldiers of Kabul

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[1] Bathān in text, but Pathān in I.O. MS. 236. It is probably the place mentioned in B. 616 and 56 as 45 *kos* N. Lahore, and as a place where ice was brought from.

[2] B. 397. Elliot V. 255, and Badāyūnī, Lowe, 366.

[3] Kishk-ī-Kābul dāshtā. Lit. "He had got the baton of Kabul," i.e. he had been appointed to keep the roads clear, and so had come to Peshawar.

[4] Bikrām or Begram seems another name for Peshawar. See Jarrett II. 405: "The Tumān of Bigrām is called Parashawar."

and Attock. But, owing to the suggestions of short-sighted persons, he could not manage this. He sent a man to find out the circumstances of the enemy, and he, from ignorance or malice, reported them to be few in number and to be disorganised. Without making a thorough investigation, he sallied out with 150 men and hotly engaged. Though in the beginning he was wounded by an arrow, he did not turn back. In the hand-to-hand fight his horse fell into a canal[1] and he was killed. Forty of his relatives fell bravely along with him. Afterwards, the Afghāns surrounded the fort. His young son Saiyid Kamāl with a few men stood firm, and defended it. On receipt of this intelligence Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Shaikh Farīd Bokhārī, Tāsh Beg K., and many other officers were sent off, on the 7th (Āẓar, end of November) under the command of the Kokaltāsh (Zain K). An order was sent that, if necessary, Kunwar Mān Singh should send a force from Kābul, and special instructions (*yarlīgh*) were issued to Mādhū Singh that he should, before the arrival of the imperial army, march from the station (thānah) of Langarkot[2] to Begrām, with Rājah Bhagwant Dās's troops.

One of the occurrences was the improvement (lit. the irrigating) of the empire (lit. the four gardens of dominion). The whole energies of the Shāhinshāh are devoted to the soothment of mankind,
511 and scrutiny (*pāīshunāsī*) and justice increase daily. As he considers that sovereignty means guardianship, he makes no distinction between pain and pleasure. He regards additions to dominion as a means of devotion to God, and sovereignty as the companion of service. With this view he appointed truthful and wise men in every province that they might duly apportion chastisement and benevolence, and not, from greed, or timidity, fail to do what was proper (?). He also appointed rightly-acting clerks to the lofty offices of Diwān and Bakhshī. He made double the thread of justice (*dād*[3] *u sitad*) (i.e. he strengthened the administration).

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[1] *Jūī*. A variant has *goī* a hole and we find this in the Maaṣir II. 399.

[2] Langar is marked on map No. 32, of I. G. Atlas, E. of Indus and S. Attock. But according to Badāyūnī, Lowe, 366, Mādhū was then at Ohind (i.e. Und) which is on west bank Indus and 15 m. above Attock.

[3] The expression "giving and taking" generally means commerce, or trafficking, and perhaps does so here.

Inasmuch as lust and anger destroy the world and the good are made bad by evil companionship, the sovereign practised foresight in every thing, and adorned the garden of the world by distributing work, and taking it from one man and giving it to another. With this view he on the 14th nominated two able officers to every province so that if one came to court, or should fall ill, the other might look after his work. He also sent with them a Diwān, and a Bakhshī. Allahabād was made over to Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmād K., and 'Abdu-l-Moṭṭalib K.; Raḥmān Qulī was made Diwān, and Ja'far Beg Bakhshī. Oudh was made over to Fatḥ K. and Qāsim 'Ali K. Mullā Nāẓir being made Diwān and Tārā Cand Bakhshī. Ajmīr was entrusted to Jagannāth and Rai Durgā, Mujāhid was Diwān, and Suḷṭān Qulī, Bakhshī. Aḥmadābād was made over to the Khān-khānān and Qulīj K., Abu-l-qāsim was the Diwān, and Niẓāmu-d-din Aḥmad, Bakhshī. Bihār was made over to Sa'īd K. and M. Yūsuf K., Rai Pattar Dās became Diwān, 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, Bakhshī. Bengal to Wazīr K., and Muḥibb 'Alī K., Karm Ullah was Diwān, and Shahbāz K., Bakhshī. Multān to Ṣādiq K. and Ismā'īl Qulī K., Khwājah 'Abd-us-Ṣamad was made Dīwān, and Muqīm Bakhshī. Agra the capital was made over to Shaikh Ibrāhīm and Rājah Askaran, Muḥibb 'Ali was Diwān, and Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk, Bakhshī. Delhi was made over to Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram and the writer [1] of this noble volume, Ṭaiyib, was Diwān, and Ḥasan K., Bakhshī. Kabul was made over to Kunwar Mān Singh and Zain K. Kokā. Nizām-ul-mulk was Dīwān and Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Bakhshī. Mālwa to the Khān Ā'ẓam and Naurang K., Mukhtār Beg was made Diwān, and Fatḥ Ullah Bakhsh. Lahore was entrusted to Rājah Bhagwant Dās and Rāi Rāi Singh. As the court was there, the palace Diwān and Bakhshī were sufficient.

One of the occurrences was the death of Kalah Sīsūdiah. He belonged to the Rānā's tribe, and used to spend his time with him. By his good fortune he entered into service (under Akbar) and received favours. But owing to his evil star and darkened intellect he absconded. Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn and Rām Chand were ordered to pursue him. They were to come up with him, and give him good

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[1] B.'s statement, p. xv, that he was made *diwān* does not seem to be correct.

counsel. If he accepted it, he was not to be injured, and be
512 brought to Court. Otherwise they were to put him to death. They travelled 180 *kos*, and arrived at the town of Fatḥpūr. He was hot-headed, and withdrew his heart from them. They communicated their instructions, and the presumptuous fellow took graciousness to be timidity, and in company with nine others set himself to fight. He and two others were killed and the others were admitted to quarter.

One of the occurrences was the death of ʻAlī Murād. One of the Shaikhzādahs of India, by name Shāh Muḥammad, was for a long time his servant. He could not endure disagreeables, and always displayed insolence. His master overlooked this, and gave his endurance of it the appellation of appreciativeness and patience. Whoever does not distinguish between the season for chastisement and the season for forbearance will assuredly fall into great trouble. ʻAlī Murād had a jagir in pargana Barodah[1] which belongs to the province of Ajmīr, and one day he was enjoying the sport of hawking. The Shaikhzāda came and performed the *kornish* (i.e. saluted) with his left hand. When his master interrogated him about this, he said he kept his right arm for his sword, and not for paying respects. He also used disrespectful language. The other, whose life was running out, abused him. The attendants rushed forward to seize and strike him. He drew his dagger and ran at them, and they, out of cowardice, retired. He wounded ʻAlī Murād on the right arm, and the latter[2] set down his hawk and addressed himself to fighting. He received another wound and fell with two severe wounds. One of the companions settled the business of that ingrate, and in a short space of time that brave man (ʻAlī Murād) also died.

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the Tārīkīs. In the beginning of Mihr (middle September 1586) M. Sulaimān came to Kābul. As he had a desire to go to court, Kunwar Mān Singh left Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Khāfī and others to manage Kābul and became the Mīrzā's guide. He was seized[3] with fever at Pesh Būlāq[4] near

1 In Sarkār Rantanbhor, J. II. 275.

2 According to I.O. MS. 236, he dashed the hawk in his face.

3 See Chalmers' translation, Noer's Akbar, translation II. 210.

4 Marked on Elphinstone's map some 15 or 20 m. S. Jalālabad. The Pesh Bulāgh of Tūzuk J. 129.

Jalālābād and became very ill. The scoundrels were arrogant on account of the killing of Saiyid Ḥāmid, imbibed new hopes from this unseasonable delay, and their turbulence increased. They abandoned the siege of the fort (Begrām) and formed evil designs. The Mahmand and Ghori tribes made heaps of stones in both the Khaibar roads from Peshāwar to Tīrāh and fortified them. The Yūsufzais and other Afghāns supported them in their wickedness.

Tīrāh is a hill-country 32 kos long (i.e. from E. to W.) and 12 broad. On the E. is Peshāwar, W. Maīdān,[1] N. Bāra, S. the district of Qandahār. It has defiles full of ups and downs and difficult of traverse. As the victorious army that had been despatched from court 513
(the Kokaltāsh's) was late in arriving, and Kunwar Mān Singh was ill at that time, and suffered pains for a month and a half, the Afghāns thought of attacking the Kunwar. Meanwhile he got better, and set his heart upon punishing them. He left Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, Jānish Bahādur, the Atālīq, Khwājgī Muḥammad Ḥusain, Ghāzī K. of Qazwīn, and his own son Himmat Singh and many others with the Mīrzā (Sulaimān) and took with himself Takhtah Beg and others, to the number of 3000 horse. His idea was to get to Tīrāh by route of Narwān,[2] and to attack from there the Afrīdīs who were the leaven

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[1] As Col. Jarrett remarks, II. 278 *n.* 3. Abu-l-Faẓl always uses Bakhtar for W. and Khāwar for E. Maidān is apparently the Maidānī hills of the I. G., and Bāra is probably the river of that name and which is a tributary of the Kābul river. The boundary S. Qandahār is obscure. Tīrah lies a long way E.N.E. Qandahar, but perhaps the outlying parts of Qandahar are meant. The words ruīh *Qandahār* may mean "in the direction of Qandahār." Tīrāh is S.S.W. of Peshawar. It was the seat of the campaign of 1897. There is a map of Tīrāh in Yate's life of Col. J. Haughton, Murray 1900. The text speaks of two Khaībar roads being fortified. Perhaps the meaning is that coming and going were stopped. The word for heaps of stones is *sangchīn*, for which see Vullers s.v. Perhaps rough walls are meant.

[2] Or Nārdān. Nārwan or Nārwān is a name for a pomegranate tree and thus may be the name of a pass. The word occurs in the Maaṣir II. 245, which here copies the Akbarnāma. But the rāh nārwan of Abul Faẓl may be rāh na-rawān "an unknown or unused route," and the meaning be that Mān Singh intended to reach Tīrāh by a new route. Chalmers has Marwān, so perhaps the place is the Mardanak of the maps. Or it may be the Mamain Pass leading down from Pesh Būlāq. I have not identified the Shādī ravine. The word occurs twice, viz. at pp.

of the disturbance, and by the same route to come by the ravine of Shādī (?) to 'Alī Masjid in order that the (two) armies might join, and the road be opened. Sakit Singh, son of Mān Singh Darbārī and Zain-ud dīn 'Alī, who were going to Kābul, hastened off to Begrām as soon as they heard of the catstrophe of Saiyid Ḥāmid. On account of the roads being closed, they had halted there. Also Mādhū Singh had arrived near Attock with the troops of Rājah Bhagwant Dās.

With these ideas Mān Singh marched rapidly from Pesh Būlāq on 3 Dai (about 13 December). He marched all night and at morning reached the pass of Chahār Chobah.[1] It was snowed up. With difficulty he traversed heights and hollows and arrived at Bāzārak. Next day an army under Muḥ. Qulī Beg attacked the Afrīdis and collected much spoil. Some thought they should return and convey the plunder to a depot, and march on afterwards. This view was not accepted and they pushed on. They marched by the defile of Chorah and climbed the hills. They passed by the homes of the Ghorī tribe, who saved themselves by submitting. When they came into the defiles, Jalālah appeared from behind, and Afghāns pressed

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513 and 514, and each time is succeeded by the word *ekbārgī*. It is possible that this last word is a clerical error for Bagādi, and the ravine be the Shādī Bagādī gorge of the I. G. VIII. 125 and the Shūdī Bagian, or Wolf's mouth of Col. Hanna's Second Afghān War, II. 7. The Shādi Bagāda is a gorge N. Jamrud and is marked on Scott's Reconnaisance map of the Khaibar, but Mān Singh would hardly come by it if he was going to 'Ali Masjīd. But perhaps his idea was to turn the Khaibar.

It seems to me doubtful if Mān Singh went from Pish Būlāq by the Khaibar. It seems as if it would have been unnecessary to do so to get at Tīrāh. He probably went there direct and came to 'Alī Masjid by the east end of the pass, eventually passing through the Khaibar when joined by the troops from India, and when he went to escort M. Sulaimān. I do not know where the Chār Choba Pass mentioned on p. 513 is. The Chora mentioned further on may be the Chora road mentioned by Mohan Lal, ed. 1846, p. 59, who says it is passable for camels and horses. Bazārak mentioned in text may be the place marked on the maps as Bazār, west of Jamrūd. Both Pesh Būlāq and Bazār are marked on the map of the Survey operations during the campaign of 1878-79.

[1] Cārjūīa—"The four streams" according to I.O. MS. 236. A place called Bāzārak-i-Nāo is marked on maps E. Pish Būlāq.

upon them from every side. Takhtah Beg and other heroes of the rearguard carried on a strenuous fight. And when they were in difficulties, Kunwar Mān Singh halted, and sent reinforcements. After much fighting the enemy desisted from their insolence. He left his eldest son Jagat Singh with the rearguard and went on towards 'Alī Masjid. In a short time the wicked wretches again gathered on every side, and the position become more difficult. There was no plain where they could fight properly and no shelter which might be of use so that the shooting of arrows, and rolling of stones, might come to an end. The brave men contended at close quarters with the enemy, and there were occasionally wonderful combats. Suddenly a somewhat open place was seen. Mān Sīngh, contrary to the opinion of his companions, stood firm there, and Takhtah Beg and some Kābulis entered into the fight. Afterwards Muḥammad Qulī Beg, Nūram Kokah, and other active men of the **514** vanguard took part, and wonderful deeds were done. When things were critical, the breeze of victory arose, the enemy was defeated, and retreated by narrow defiles. Thanks were offered to God, and there was great joy. Some were of opinion that as the day was nearly ended, they should encamp on the field of victory, and many thought it would be proper to go to 'Alī Masjid, which was two *kos* distant. As there was scarcity of water, they set off. Muḥ Qulī took charge of the rear. The army reached the station, at the beginning of evening, by the Shādī route. Jalālah lay in wait there when a watch of the night had passed, and the Afghāns collected here and there. Some thought that they should sally out at dawn, and prevail over the foe; but as they were much fatigued, they did not do so. After midday, Mādhū Singh appeared with Rajah Bhagwant Das's force, and the Tārīkīs at once dispersed. Most of the experienced men were of opinion that Man Singh should remain there, and that some officers should go off, and bring in the great caravan by the Khaibar route. But out of regard to M. Sulaimān, and the numerous families and their baggage, (Man Singh) went by the Khaibar to Pesh Būlāq and brought the Mīrzā and the caravan to Begrām (Peshawar) by the Kharapa[1]

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[1] Or Karpāh. "The Currapa Pass which leads from Peshawar to Jalalabad is in the Mohmand country: it is sometimes travelled, but as it

route. About this time Zain K. Koka arrived with his army, and there were increased endeavours to uproot the Tārīkī thorn.

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abounds in rugged ascents and defiles, and as the Caubul river, there stony and rapid, must be often crossed, the southern road through

the Khaibar is generally preferred" (Elphinstone). In text the word is written كهريه Kharīha, but I.O. MSS. 236 has Karpah. See also J. II. 401.

CHAPTER XCII.

The arrival, for the second time, of M. Sulaimān at the sublime Court.

Some of his misfortunes, from the time when he obtained leave to go to the Ḥijāz, have already been related. When M. Shāhrukh proceeded to court, he remained in the Lamghānāt, and spent his days in wishes for Badakhshān. M. Ḥakīm had consideration for him, and gave him some Badakhshīs and Kābulīs as companions. He quickly marched to the hill-country and set himself to take Tāliqān. Muḥammad Sulṭān Uzbeg came to fight with him. He, on account of the great number of the enemy, fortified the foot of a hill (*shākh-band karda*), and stood firm. From time to time, he made attacks, and was successful. His success made him presumptuous, and he cast away the thread of farsight. The longer he stood firm, the more did old servants (*bandagān bābarī*) join him, while the number of the enemy diminished. Without reason, he abandoned his strong shelter and fought against superior numbers. Inasmuch as self-will puts wisdom on one side, and the quick- **515**
silver of not-listening pours into the ear of reason, he did not accept the words of his well-wishers. He came out, and performed masterpieces of valour. The enemy was nearly defeated, and he was almost successful, when, suddenly, 'Abdu-l-Mūmīn[1] Sulṭān came in person from Balkh. The battle was renewed. The Mīrzā's army did not know of this, and brave men made a hot fight. Twice was the enemy put to flight. The third time the fighting was more reckless, and just then the ungrateful Qūrcī Beg led a party of Uzbegs against the fortification. The Mīrzā at once lost the power of contending, and could not maintain his ground. He was compelled to fly to Afghanistan. Bakhtiyār Beg was at the river Bārān. He received him and brought him to Kabul. Kuar Mān Singh hastened from Jalālabad to that place, and treated him with great respect. He acted as his guide and brought him to Peshawar, as

[1] Son of 'Abdullah K.

has been related. From there, Jagat Singh, Muḥammad Qulī Beg, Mān Singh Darbārī, Hilāl Aftābci became his companions and brought him to the capital. When he arrived within two *kos* thereof, H.M. sent Prince Sulṭan Murād to receive him. He was accompanied by Rajah Todar Mal, Shāham K., Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ Āṣaf K., Khudāwand K., the writer of the book of fortune (A. F.), and many other officers. Ḥakīm and the writer were ordered to keep near him (Murād), and be ready with answers. M. Sulaimān got on foot at a distance, and the nursling of fortune (Murād) also dismounted from his horse. They embraced one another according to the rules of their ancestors, and conversing together they proceeded to the court. On 14 Isfāndārmaẕ (24 February, 1587), he brightened his forehead by doing homage, and his heart was rejoiced by varied favours.

One occurrence was the cessation of Y'aqūb's commotion. After returning unsuccessful from his night attack, he retired to the defiles of Kishtwāra. The Kashmīrī soldiers brought him out by making solemn promises. He stirred up commotion in Harnāg,[1] 25 *kos* from the city. Qāsim K. had the idea of sending an army against him, and of himself remaining to guard the city. The officers preferred unsuitable wishes. Apparently these delicate men of hot countries were averse to campaigning in a cold country and did not like to traverse defiles, and to put their hands to battle. The general was obliged to go in person and to leave Fatḥ K. and others in the city. When he came near Y'aqūb, he heard that he had gone off to the city to make a night attack. Qāsim was astounded and turned back, and sent a force ahead under the charge of M. 'Alī. When they were 5 kos from the city, it appeared that Y'aqūb was lying in wait near the hill of Alar[2] (?), four kos from the city. The army pushed on and next day reached the hilly place. The

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1 Harnāg is situated l. bank Jhelum just above the Kanabal bridge and W. of Islāmābād (Bates).

2 الر variant الو. I.O. MS. 235 has الار Ular which enables us to identify the place with the pargana Wular of Jarret II. 369. It is اولر Ūlar in Persian text. But the Ain is wrong in describing it as a pargana N.-E. of Srinagar. The pargana or tract lies S.-E. of Srinagar and is spelt Woolar on the map. Evidently it is totally distinct from the Woolar lake which lies to N.-W. of Srinagar. Bates describes it as a long and narrow valley stretching from N.

skirmishers had a slight fight and were victorious. The enemies saw that they were not strong enough to fight by day, and **516** arranged a night attack. By the help of God, fire caught the reed-built houses of the neighbourhood and the vain imaginers became the target of the brave soldiers. Owing to the failure of the night attack, the firmness of the imperialists, and their own dissensions, they dispersed. They also sent proposal of peace to the officers. Yūsuf Kashmīrī, who had the title of Khan-khānān, Muḥammad Bhat and many others separated and took refuge at a little hill, and sent messages that they wished to wait upon the general. At dawn on the 29th Āẕar, 8 December, 1586, the army reached that hill. Y'aqūb and some others went off rapidly to Kishtwāra, and the cultivated country was plundered. From there the army advanced to the little hill where the persons above-mentioned were. Next day, those men, by the intervention of M. 'Alī Beg, and Khanjarī, waited upon the general, and he encouraged them and sent them along with Khanjarī to court. The commotion subsided. On 22 Isfandārmaẕ, 2 March, 1587, the persons sent were exalted by obtaining an audience and received with princely favours. Their names were as follows: 1. Saiyid Mubārik, who had been raised to the chiefship, as has been related. 2. Punj,[1] the brother of Y'aqūb. 3. Ḥaidar 'Ali. 4. Muḥammad Ḥusain. 5. Aḥmad Ḥusain. 6. Ḥusain K. Cak, whom they had raised to the government at the beginning of the disturbance. 7 and 8. Ḥusain K. and Ibrāhīm K., the sons of Mubārik K. 9. Muḥammad Bhat and his sons. 10. 'Ali Ḥasan.[2] 11. Bābā Khalīl. 12. Bāba Mahdī. These (three?) were the leaders of the Kashmīris under the disguise of holy men. 13. Bahādur 'Alī. 14. Bhakrū Lohar. 15. Mullā Ḥasan. 16. The sons of Ḥaidar Cak. Though at the coming of the victorious troops, they had exerted themselves in fighting, and in devising tricks, yet the wise sovereign adhered to the promises, and treated them with favour. A good report of him filled the world.

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side of Jhelam between Avantipūr and Bīj Bahāra. Wular, Vular, or Wooler is the ancient Ḥolāda. Stein II. 464.

[1] Possibly the meaning is, five brothers of Y'aqūb; but if so, only four are named.

[2] Perhaps these are the names of his sons.

Also, at this time he sent Saiyid 'Abdullah and Mīrzāda 'Alī K. to Kashmīr. As they had not done good service in the Eastern districts, they were sent off to Kashmīr on the 27th in order that they might seek by good work atonement for the past.

One of the occurrences was the protection of holy men. Though the lightening of the burden of sorrow is always an adornment of those admitted to the august assemblage, and the speech and action of H.M. form the stock of State and Religion, yet a fresh announcement was made that it had occurred to H.M. that every one who had the bliss of attending court should, according to the number of his years, give one *dām*, or one rupī, or one *muhr* to some good object, so that by that means a well, or a reservoir, or a caravanserai, or a garden might be constructed, and that thereby every kind of distress might be relieved, and there might be a spiritual and temporal growth. The order was properly carried out, and the countenance of good thoughts was illuminated.